

# The Art Bulletin

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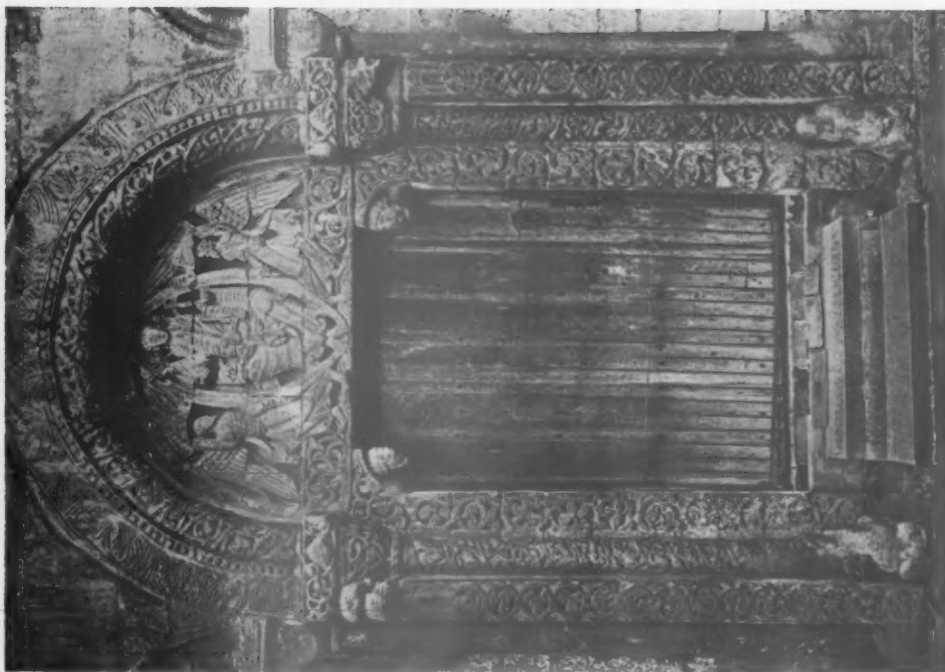


FIG. 2—ELY, CATHEDRAL: PRIOR'S DOORWAY

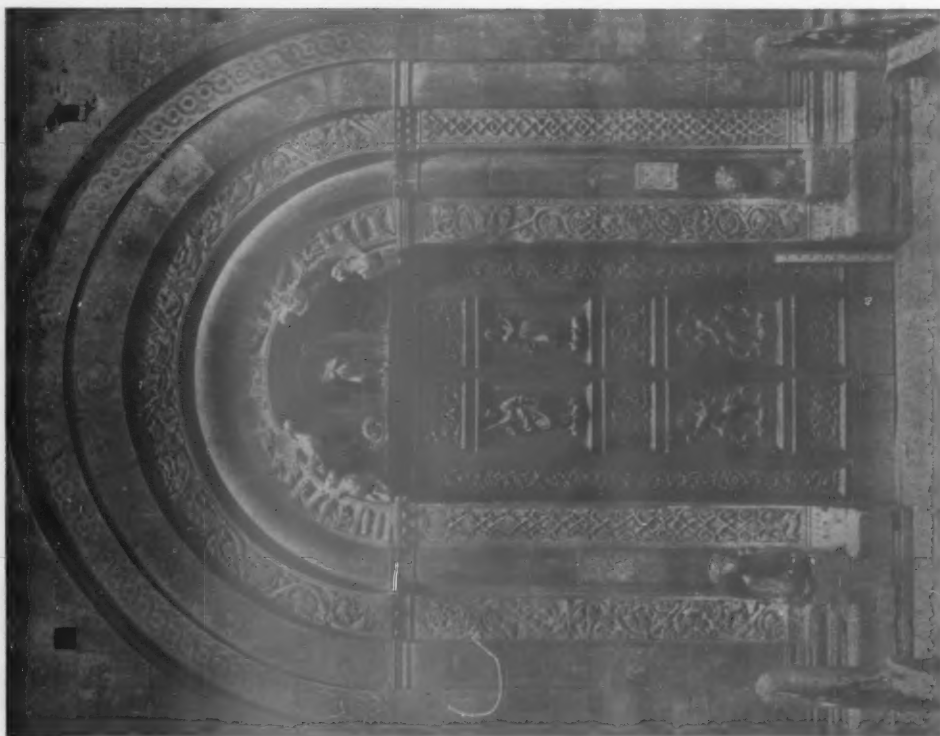


FIG. 1—FOLIGNO, CATHEDRAL: DOOR ON SOUTH SIDE

## The Romanesque Signs of the Zodiac

BY PHILA CALDER NYE



NE of the hitherto unexplained archæological phenomena is the sudden appearance of the signs of the zodiac as a prominent part of church decoration of the twelfth century. Why the signs are used and from what sources they are derived are the chief points for investigation. Everywhere the cycle appears it is evident that the artists follow a set form. The source of this form is the problem of the present study.

In the early twelfth century the signs generally appear alone, as at Vézelay and Autun, either surmounting a decorated tympanum (*Cf.* Fig. 8) or forming the decorative band of an archivolt over a simple arch or portal (*Cf.* Fig. 1). Later the occupations of the months appear either as companion bands or in combination, and in the Gothic period a rich and perfect union of the two is attained. In the Romanesque type the band shows the signs depicted according to a plan so uniform in style and method as to point to a single and definite origin. When we first encounter the cycle it has an air of long usage; here is no novice working out a tentative design, to be copied here and there by imitators of his style and fancies.

In the first place, the position occupied by the decorated band is significant. It sometimes turns above a tympanum, enclosing some pictured scene of importance in the history of the church or community or illustrative of a Biblical event. It is often the crown of the principal portal of a cathedral or church, even when the tympanum decoration is eliminated. Usually, if it is not in the west façade, it is to be found over some other door that is in constant use. If the archivolt decoration portrays other subjects, we sometimes find the zodiacal band relegated to the jambs (Fig. 2).

In the second place, the geographical distribution is significant. The signs do not make an early appearance in the extreme north. They are found along the Rhine valley, through France and Italy, and extend eastward to their birthplace in the Euphrates valley, while on the west they reach to Britain.

This leads us to the very definite question: Is there any one antique type of the zodiac which had such a widespread popularity that all the centers of European civilization within this territory would have felt its influence?

Our first impulse is to examine the illuminated manuscripts which have answered so many similar questions. We find that only the early manuscripts make use of the subject, and that in two ways. The earlier, and by far the more popular, method is the use of the single signs as decoration for the calendar pages of devotional books. Such decoration begins during the ninth century and is probably patterned after a copy of the Calendar of Filocalus, which was made at this time (see initial letter). Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, such as the Psalter of Athelstan at the British Museum, and the Psalter of St. Louis at Leyden (Fig. 3), occasionally show this treatment. From the eleventh century it appears with increasing regularity, culminating in the elaborate French and Flemish work of the fifteenth century. In the early examples the signs occur mainly as marginal decorations, painted in any convenient space at top, side, or bottom of a page, with sometimes an attempt to place the little picture near the day of the month on which the sun enters the



sign. In other cases the sign forms the decorative motive for the "KL" which heads each page of the calendar. The important point to remember here is that the signs are used singly, one to a page.

The later, less popular, use of the zodiacal signs in manuscript decoration is that of grouping them around a central figure. This arrangement, which may be studied in the eleventh-century Rabanus Maurus manuscript at Montecassino (Fig. 4) or in manuscript No. 7028 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 5), is principally reserved for secular volumes treating of astronomical and anatomical subjects.

There are but slight variations in the forms of the zodiacal animals in these two types of manuscript decoration. In neither case is there any indication that the cycle could lend itself to sculptural decoration. Nor do the manuscripts cover so wide a field as do the sculptural examples. So it is unlikely that we can find in the manuscripts the source of inspiration for which we seek. What *their* source of inspiration was becomes evident when we compare with them antique examples like the mosaic from Sentinum or a relief at Modena (Fig. 6). In each we have a central deity surrounded by a band decorated with the zodiacal cycle. The same cycle in the same sort of band is occasionally used to surround the scene of Mithras slaying the bull; and here we touch upon a possible source for the Romanesque type.

Let us return to the question of the geographical distribution of the Romanesque zodiac and see whether that can throw any light on the subject. Recalling the territorial extension assigned above to zodiacal sculpture, one notices that it falls within the boundaries of the Roman Conquest. Is there any possible connection between the Roman Occupation and the use of the signs as a motive for decorative sculpture? Perhaps here we have a solution of the mystery.

It will be remembered that the Roman soldiery was devoted to the worship of Mithras, a cult popular in the Near East and of Persian origin. The earliest records of this belief go back to the days before the separation of the Hindus and Persians. The cult spread through Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, adopting the star-cult of the Chaldeans as an adjunct to the worship of Mithras as god of light. By the time of Alexander its characteristics were fixed, and it reached full maturity during the Roman period. The first artistic representations connected with the cult date from its Grecian popularity, and it was during the Pergamene period that the famous relief of Mithras Tauroctonus originated. Cilician pirates captured by Pompey are said to have introduced the cult at Rome, where it existed among the middle classes, spreading through the army, the mercantile class, and the slaves, and flourishing along the trade routes. Finally the emperors encouraged it, as Mithras was supposed to be personally represented by the ruler, and this wave of popularity lasted until the third century A. D. After that it rose and fell until it was finally wiped out during the fifth century. In the main, the tenets of the cult resembled those of Christianity, and at one time the two beliefs were serious rivals, both having very strong adherents in all parts of Europe. The Mithraic meetings were always held in caverns, so small that each locality of any size had several. The form of all these caverns was the same, a rectangular vaulted room, with an apse opposite the entrance. In this apse was placed the relief of Mithras. The preservation of these reliefs may be accounted for by the cave-like character of the sanctuaries, the popularity of the cult, and the long period of the exercise of the mysteries. The people may have been interested to protect the shrines from the drastic destruction meted out to those of the ordinary Roman gods. At any rate, the Mithraic monuments have been preserved in a number and over an area unparalleled by any other cult of the Roman period.



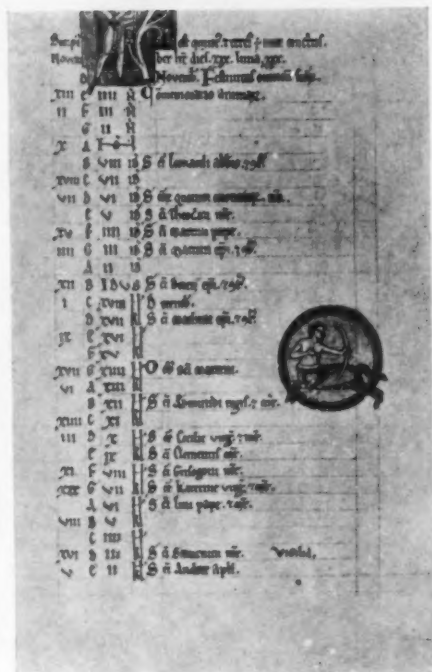


FIG. 3—LEYDEN, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: PSALTER OF ST. LOUIS, NOVEMBER CALENDAR



FIG. 4—MONTECASSINO, ARCHIVIO: MANUSCRIPT OF RABANUS MAURUS, SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC



FIG. 5—PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE: MANUSCRIPT NO. 7028, FOLIO 154R



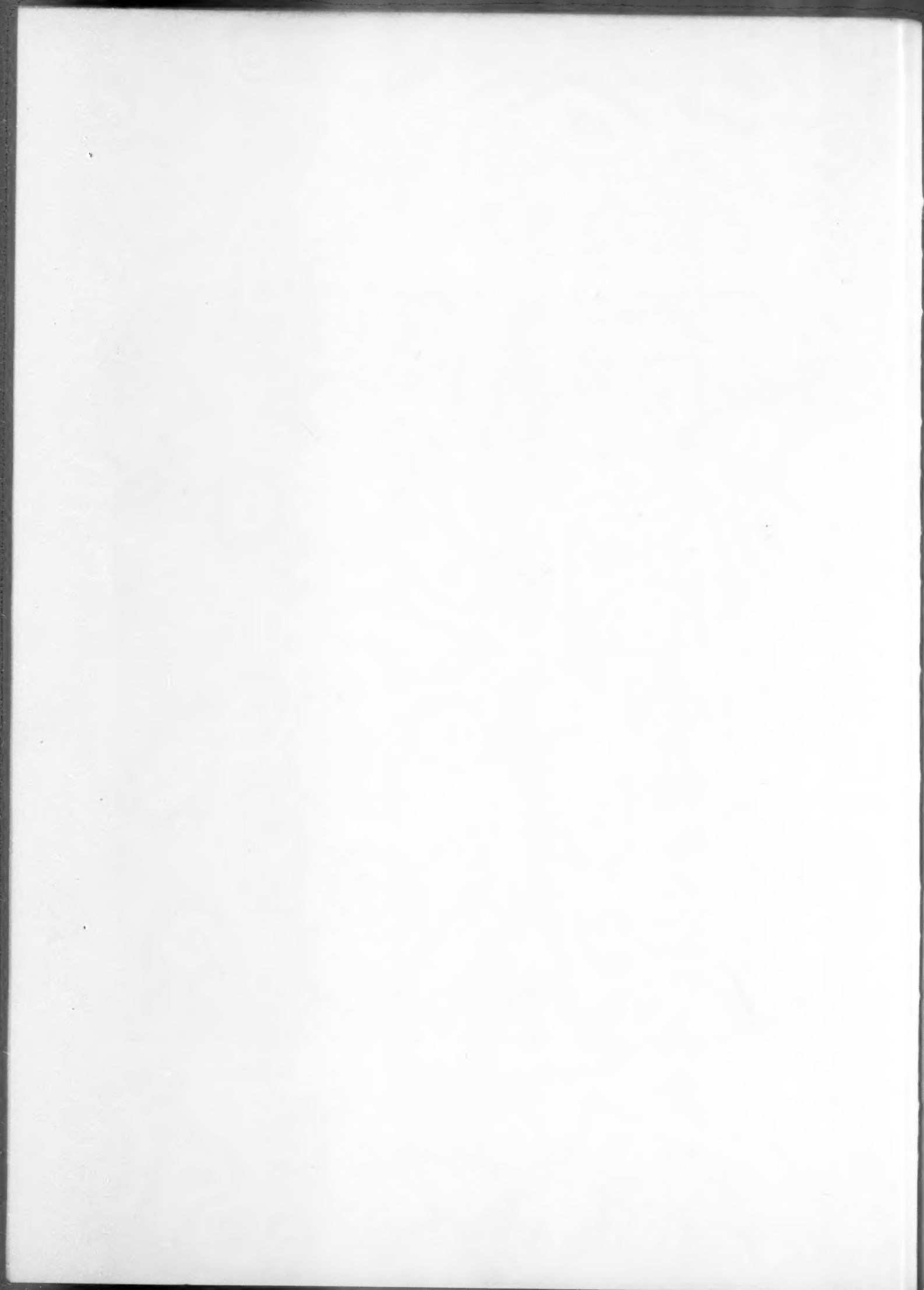
FIG. 6—MODENA, BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE: MITHRAIC RELIEF





FIG. 7—WIESBADEN, MUSEUM: ROMAN MITHRAIC RELIEF FROM HEDDERNHEIM





Now the center of interest in a Mithræum was always the relief or statue of the god often shown with the signs of the zodiac as part of the symbolical decoration. These occur as a continuous band, surrounding the god in a circle or oval, as we have indicated above, or arching over the scene of Mithras Tauroctonus. Here then, for the first time, we have a definite arrangement, giving the signs a place of importance, and treating them as a cycle, not as separate-entities nor as simple illustrations. They have a definite message to convey, that of the heavens bearing witness to the solemnization of a rite infinitely old, but ever new, as symbolized in this annual repetition. This use of the signs was not a common one. To be sure, it does occur elsewhere, but mainly in Roman work which was probably directly influenced by the Mithras reliefs.

Turn now to the Romanesque portal. Here the signs occur on an archivolt very reminiscent of the Mithraic band, and often, as in the case of the relief of Mithras Tauroctonus, the cycle of signs frames an important composition, occupying a prominent place. In some instances (Figs. 1 and 8) the signs are enclosed in individual frames, such as are to be seen on the great Mithraic reliefs of Karlsruhe and Wiesbaden (Fig. 7). Another significant fact is that there is practically no change in the forms of the symbols. In almost every instance a parallel can be drawn between the Romanesque and the Mithraic work. That the later artists were copyists is shown by an occasional transposition in the order. Some, especially in Britain, misunderstood the meaning of the signs; for we find queer animals introduced as companions to the fishes and their zodiacal brothers; or a sign may be several times repeated (Figs. 2 and 9). But the continuous band is the rule, and this does not derive from the early manuscript forms as we know them. It appears that the Romanesque artists, in their search for illustrative matter suitable for the shape and position of certain of their decorative sculptures, called upon this half-forgotten cult since it had solved similar problems of design. But the strongest of all reasons for drawing upon this source was probably the abundance of accessible Mithraic remains. A glance at the table of contents of Cumont's exhaustive work on the cult of Mithras will show at once that in every center where the Romanesque cycle made an early appearance, late Roman art had provided a Mithræum. England has remains north and south; France has them at points where we find the earliest portal reliefs; Germany the same; Italy and Sicily comply with the rule. Where the Mithræa are found, there the Romanesque sculptor used the signs.

Thus we see that the evidence for our thesis is strong. The signs reappear almost simultaneously throughout the above-mentioned parts of Europe and follow faithfully the last sculptured style in which they were presented. This is a well recognized characteristic in early mediæval art: it is always the late classical style that is copied when later artists revive a form. The Mithraic zodiac fulfilled the requirements of the Romanesque sculptor and furnished him a familiar local model.

## A New Roman Tomb-Painting

By A. D. FRASER

A FEW weeks ago a discovery of unusual interest and importance was made by Italian archæologists not far from the Eternal City. At a point about four miles to the north-west of Rome, close to the Via Trionfale, a party of excavators directed by Dr. Goffredo Bendinelli unearthed a tomb belonging to the third century A. D., the epitaphs on whose sarcophagi show that it was the property of a family of the illustrious, aristocratic Octavian gens. The inscriptions further declare that the tomb was constructed on the occasion of the demise of Octavia Paulina, the six-year-old daughter of a certain Octavius Felix. A complete account of the discovery is soon to be published by Dr. Bendinelli in the official archæological journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

Within the tomb was found a well preserved mural painting (Pl. XXV, Fig. 10) representing a scene no less remarkable for its pathos than for its impressiveness, its beauty of design, and for what we may call, in lack of a better term, its humanity. It shows the ushering in of the little Octavia Paulina to an Elysian paradise,<sup>1</sup> where a band of children amuse themselves in the artless occupation of gathering flowers. A pronounced strengthening of belief in the after life had come about in the Roman mind during the second and third centuries of our era, owing to the joint influences of Christianity and Mithraism, as well as to those of various other Oriental cults whose systems were built up around the controlling doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The present picture contains, however, no symbolism or element which may be traced directly to a Christian or Mithraic source—apart, of course, from its obvious manifestation of a belief in the continuity of human life beyond the grave. It seems to be primarily Greek in its conception and execution, but shows, as is natural, several Roman elements in the portrayal of details. The picture which served as the progenitor of the theme here unfolded may well have been the far famed *Nekuia* of the fifth-century Greek artist Polygnotus. A sculptured scene of somewhat similar general conception is to be found in a pedimental relief until recently in a private collection in Munich.<sup>2</sup> Here Hermes introduces the spirit of a dead woman to a party of women in the lower world. But the element of joy and gladness is altogether lacking; the scene is laid in the Mourning Fields of Hades.

The dimensions of the painting are, roughly, three by six feet. Four series of transverse cracks slightly mar the regularity of the surface, but otherwise the picture is almost in its original form, even to the extent of having retained its brilliant coloring. The artist has been reasonably successful in presenting a proper perspective, though the forms of the larger blossoms stand out too prominently in the foreground, and the effects of light and shade are not all that might be desired. On the extreme left of the scene, a winged Eros—small, and of a late type—drives a miniature chariot drawn by two doves, the attribute of his mother Venus, and holds in his arms the limp and senseless body of the deceased Octavia. The car is apparently of the old-fashioned, traditional Attic type, with four spokes to the wheel; the bodies of the doves are light colored, with darker heads and wings. This group is facing in a direction three-quarters towards the left, but is seemingly about to execute a half turn to the right close upon the heels of the god Hermes who is leading the way. The latter appears in his common rôle of Psychopompos, Conductor of

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the syncretic catacomb painting with the ushering in of Vibia, Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Pl. 132.

<sup>2</sup>Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, Vol. 1, 42.





FIG. 9—KILPECK, CHURCH: CARVING FROM WEST DOOR

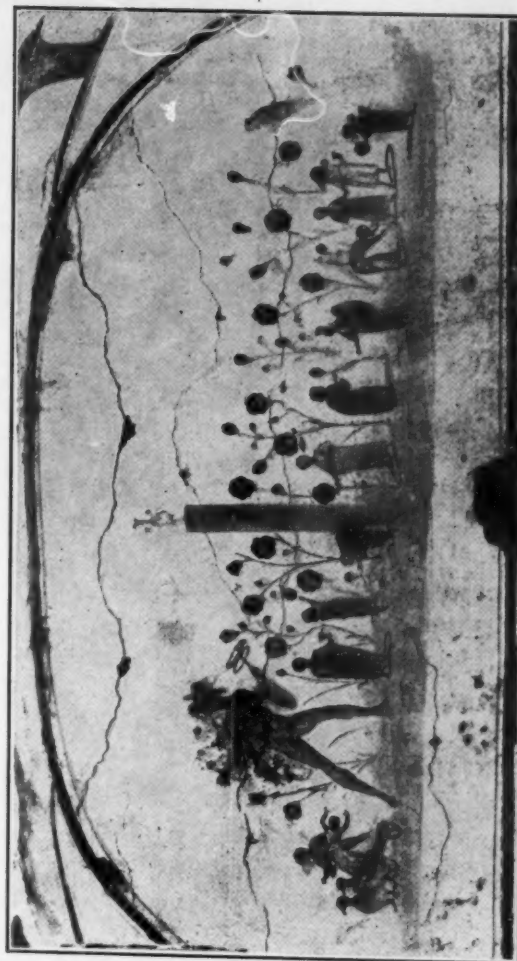


FIG. 10—ROME: A NEWLY DISCOVERED TOMB-PAINTING

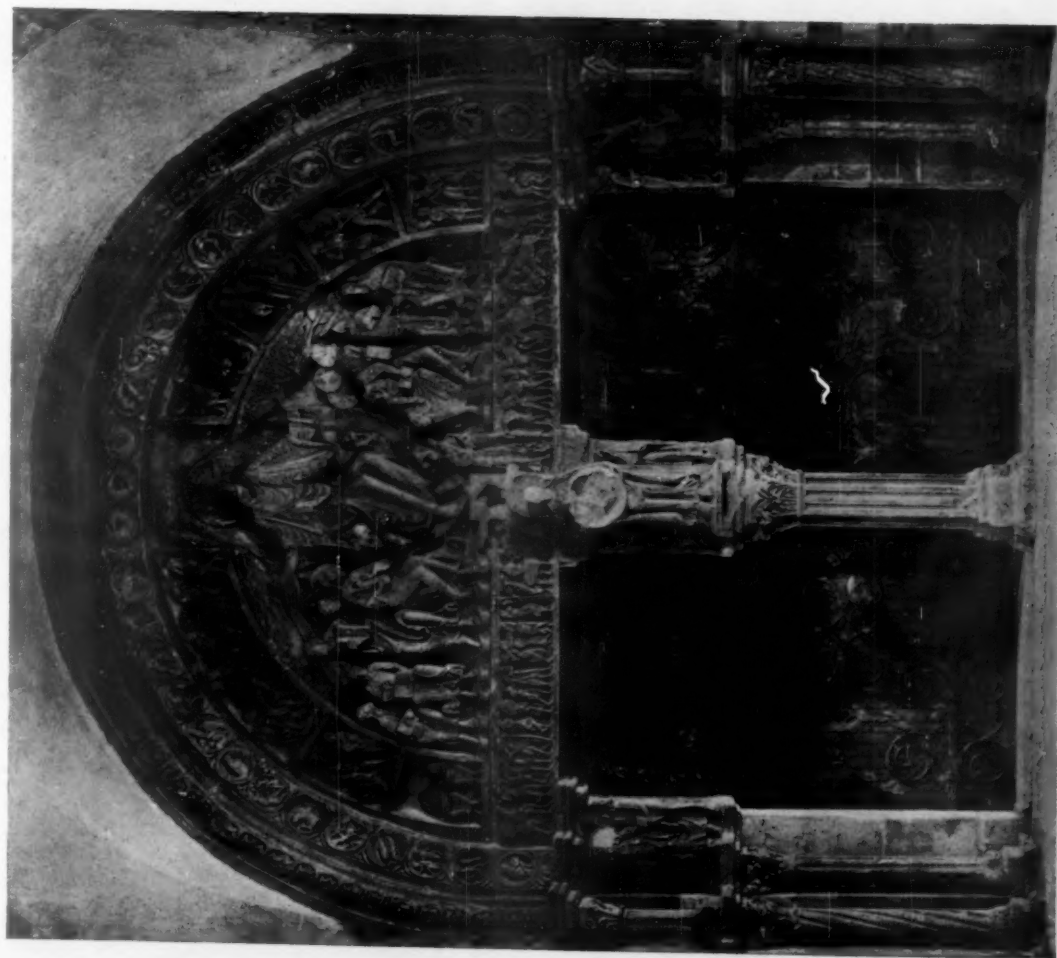
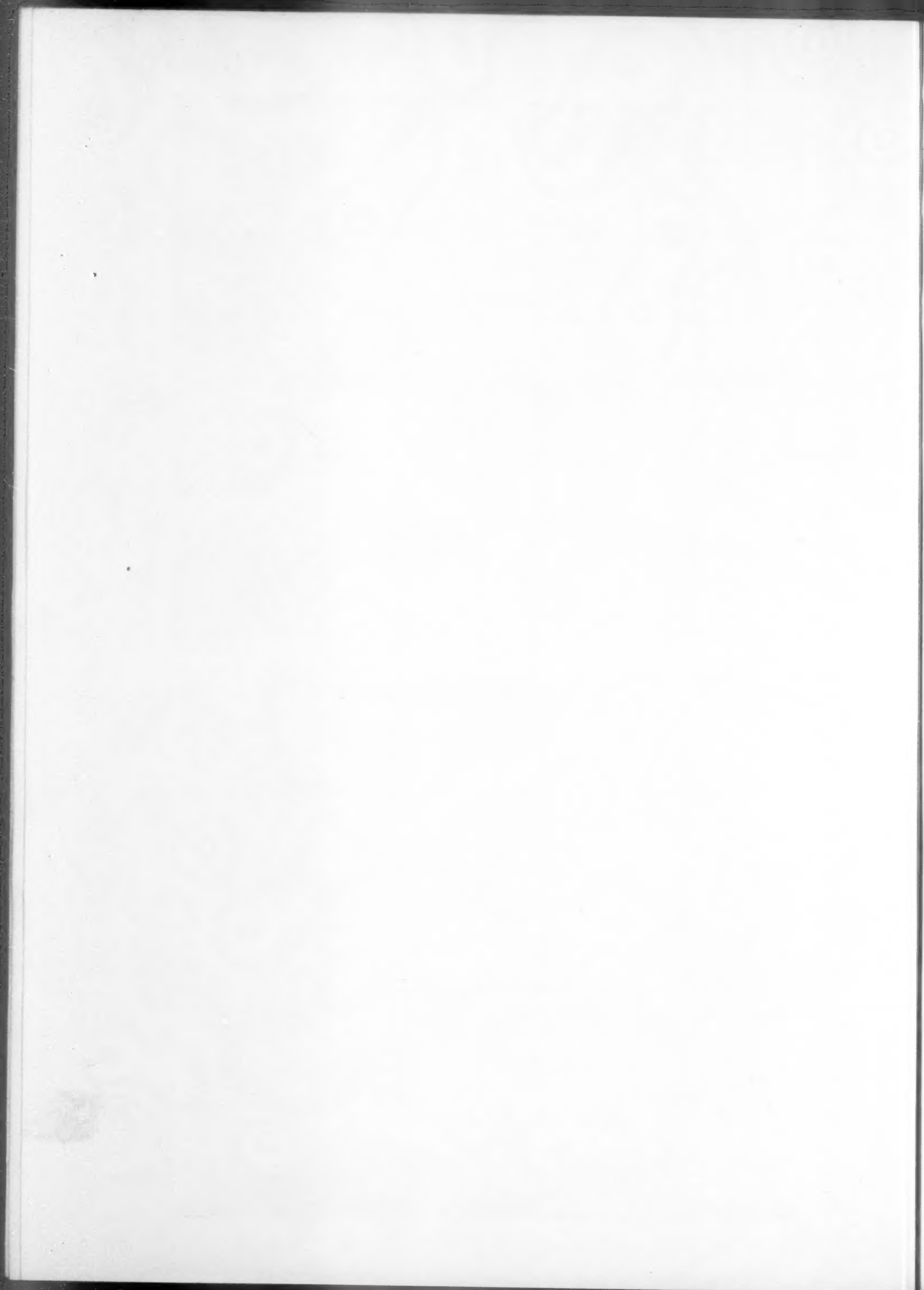


FIG. 8—VÉZELAY, ABBEY CHURCH: WEST PORTAL



Souls, and looks, to judge by his attitude, as though he were in the act of clearing the road of obstacles which are, notwithstanding, not altogether apparent. This motive of opening a path is occasionally met in Etruscan tomb-paintings, as in the scene from the Tomba Campana,<sup>1</sup> where a figure, ordinarily considered to be the Etruscan Charun, leads the way for a dead youth and, for an obvious purpose, bears an axe on his shoulder. Hermes, in the present instance, is represented wearing a winged cap and with his chlamys thrown over his shoulder and left arm, holding in his left hand the orthodox *caduceus* or wand, bearing its two serpents with confronting heads. He is of the tall and slender Lysippic type which is reminiscent of the Resting Hermes of Naples.<sup>2</sup> His attitude, however, is strikingly dramatic and almost sprawling, and recalls the pose of Marsyas in the famous group of Myron<sup>3</sup> and, in a less degree, the satyr's somewhat similar attitude on the Praxitelean slab from Mantinea in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>4</sup>

A little in advance of the group of children picking flowers there stands—the fifth figure from the right—a form which might at first sight be taken for one of them. She is indeed surpassed in stature by almost all the children in the painting; but that she has attained to maturity is clearly evidenced by her relatively slender figure and by her head, which is remarkably small in proportion to the height of her body. She stands almost fronting the group of newcomers to Elysium, with her right hand outstretched. Her head is surmounted by a helmet bearing the stiffly erect Roman plume, and a round shield is borne on her left arm. This must undoubtedly be the goddess Athena, about to welcome the soul of Octavia to the region of the blest. She is, therefore, in all probability, to be identified here as Athena Kourotrophos, the fosterer and the protectress of the young, a title under which she was worshipped in ancient times in several of the Greek states. But the representations of this goddess as a welcomer of souls to the nether world appear to be very rare. Occasionally, in Greek vase-paintings<sup>5</sup> Athena is seen accompanying Hercules on his way to heaven—a *motif* which may have given rise, later on, to this conception of a more intimate association on her part with the world of the departed. On the famous Igel Monument near Trèves,<sup>6</sup> which is contemporary in date with our tomb-painting, Athena appears in one of the reliefs as a supervisor of the freeing of Andromeda, an action which seems to be emblematic of the release of the human soul from its corporeal chains. On another panel of the tomb the same goddess is depicted with outstretched hand, greeting Hercules on his arrival at his new place of abode. In the scene before us, as Octavia Paulina is apparently represented as being still inanimate, it may be that the artist here regards Athena as a revivifying agency, the contact of whose hand will restore the dead child to life eternal. It is to be observed, furthermore, that the pose of Athena is here very similar, *mutatis mutandis*, to her attitude in the Frankfurt<sup>7</sup> statue, which almost certainly belongs to the Satyr group of Myron. This, taken in conjunction with what has been said regarding the pose of Hermes, suggests, though it would be absurd to press the point, that the author of the tomb-painting may have had this Myronic group in mind, and consciously or unconsciously imitated the original statuary.

The figures of the nine living children in the group are well executed, and they are no longer, as in earlier art, simply miniature men and women. Generally they are garbed

<sup>1</sup>Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, Fig. 28.

<sup>3</sup>Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, Fig. 65.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, Fig. 102.

<sup>5</sup>As, e. g., on a red-figured amphora in Munich: Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 109, 2.

<sup>6</sup>Mrs. A. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, Pls. XXIX, XXX.

<sup>7</sup>Gardner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 64.



in the *toga praetexta*, the ordinary out-of-door raiment of Roman children of the better classes. Probably, however, the two who walk hand-in-hand near the right of the picture wear tunics only. The right-hand child of this pair, as well as the youngster who is next to Hermes, holds a bell-shaped flower (asphodel?) in his hand. All the remaining buds and blossoms in the picture are, presumably, roses, though growing on stalks very unlike rose bushes. This flower, it may be noted, is the floral symbol of Eros himself, who here plays so prominent a part in the action.

In the center of the group appears a tall pillar, the column of Hecate, which is surmounted by a device plant-like in form, but probably the triple torch of Hecate which is sometimes conceived of as furnishing light in the nether world. But here an artificial illumination of this sort seems wholly unnecessary, as the entire scene is brilliantly lighted from above after a fashion which recalls the lines of Virgil in his charming description of the Elysian Fields (*Aeneid*, VI, 640, 641):

*Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit  
Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.*

The artist has attempted to depict the shadows cast by the human figures, but has hardly attained to scientific accuracy or maintained consistency in respect to the direction in which the shadows fall. A curious feature is the ring-shaped form of shadow which is thrown at the feet of at least four or five of the children. While this may be accidental, it would almost appear to be a naïve way of portraying the serpent, emblem of life and, particularly in this head-to-tail attitude, of immortality.

It is owing to his alate form even more than to his youthful nature—and hence companionship with children—that Eros here makes his appearance as a conveyer of the dead. The merit of any winged creature as a vehicle of transit for the soul was appreciated by the ancients from the most remote times. And so we have harpies or “soul-birds,” so often represented on Egyptian mummy-cases, winged horses and winged chariots, eagles, peacocks, griffins, etc., portrayed on the tombs.<sup>1</sup> In Roman art, as early as the time of Augustus, one sees the altar in the Cortile del Belvedere of the Vatican bearing in relief a scene of Julius Caesar’s translation to the realms of bliss in a chariot drawn by winged steeds.<sup>2</sup> Figures of Eros appear, moreover, in the tomb of Diocletian in his palace of Spalato, where Hermes Psychopompos likewise is shown. A sepulchral relief from the urn of Cossutia Prima represents Eros driving a quadriga.<sup>3</sup> In our picture, it would appear that a double effect is sought by the introduction of the winged doves, in association with the winged god, as vehicles of the soul’s transmigration.

There is a conscious effort, I think, on the author’s part so to group the whole as to secure a pyramidal or pediment-like effect, which is very suggestive of Greek artistic ideas. The column of Hecate stands almost exactly midmost of the party, and the relatively gigantic figure of Hermes only partially interferes with the harmony of the whole. The smallest of the animate objects, the doves, are placed on the extreme left, while the opposite extremity of the picture is occupied by the tiniest of the children. The large, fully blown flowers on the right of the pillar are also arranged in a plane which ascends towards the center of the scene. If, finally, we include the doves, we find that there are seven living beings on either side of the central column. Such a scheme of grouping is due, manifestly, to design and not to accident.

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. A. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup>Reinach, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 398.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, 671.





ROME, MUSEO BORGHESI: FRONT OF THE BORGHESI-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS



## Another Sidamara Sarcophagus

BY JOHN SHAPLEY

THE sarcophagi sometimes known as the Sidamara<sup>1</sup> sarcophagi, but now commonly called the Asiatic sarcophagi and subdivided into an earlier group that is Lydian and a later group to which the Sidamara sarcophagus itself belongs,<sup>2</sup> are now quite familiar to American students. The American discovery<sup>3</sup> at Sardis in 1913, under favorable conditions for its reconstruction and dating, of a new and clinching example of the Lydian group has aroused in this country a wide interest in the study of these intermediaries between ancient and mediæval art. Fresh from the reading of a recent article in this magazine<sup>4</sup> and, in proof sheets, of an account of the new Sardis sarcophagus prepared for, and since published in, the introductory volume of the Sardis publications,<sup>5</sup> what was the surprise of Professor Robinson and myself to see in broad view, though "skyped," on opposite walls of Room I of the Museo Borghese, Rome, two reliefs (Pls. XXVI, XXVII) which were obviously of the Sidamara group but which we had never encountered in the literature of the subject. A few simple comparisons and measurements, for which the direction of the collection kindly supplied a ladder and men, showed me that the reliefs were probably the long sides of a sarcophagus the ends of which are in the Louvre, where they are exhibited in the Galerie Mollien and bear the numbers 1500 (the end with Homer, Pl. XXVIII) and 1497 (the end with the tomb-portal, Pl. XXIX). Accordingly, on revisiting Paris, I consulted M. Michon—whose kindness had long before been proved and who happened to be not only the curator concerned but also the scholar who had first identified and subsequently most thoroughly published the Louvre pieces—and was able to study the ends and make sure of their connection with the Borghese sides.

The cover of the divided sarcophagus has not, and probably will not, come to light. Between the Borghese and the Louvre collections, however, the whole trough is preserved, with the important exception that its reliefs are sadly mutilated and restored, and with the unimportant one, to the living at least, that it is bottomless. As an example of the sarcophagi of the Sidamara group in the narrower sense, that is, as opposed to the Lydian sarcophagi, this sarcophagus reconstituted is surpassed in completeness by but two examples, both in the Ottoman Museum, Constantinople, from Sidamara and Selefkeh respectively—unless one should consider as a third a sarcophagus at the Villa Mattei, Rome, belonging to the arcaded group that Stohlman<sup>6</sup> has dubbed *sub-Sidamara*, and boasting, though like its rival it is without cover, a trough which has not been broken apart and dispersed, an advantage, however, which is offset by its lack of decoration on the back. The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus, as it seems appropriate, distinctive, and convenient to call the subject of this paper, is important both for its iconography and for

<sup>1</sup>Th. Reinach's advocacy of the spelling based upon epigraphic evidence, "Sidamaria" (*Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, Vol. X, 1903, p. 91, note 1), has not availed to displace the shorter form in the literature dealing with the subject.

<sup>2</sup>The nomenclature and subdivision have already been discussed in these pages in an article by Morey (*The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IV, pp. 64-70).

<sup>3</sup>Reported by Butler in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XVII, 1913, pp. 475 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Morey, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup>Butler, *Sardis I*, pp. 135-139.

<sup>6</sup>*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXV, 1921, pp. 223-232.

its ornament. It makes, for instance, with its Apollo a valuable contribution to the iconography of the Asiatic sarcophagi. Its Homer takes a prominent, because unambiguous, place in relationship to the series of dignified old men masquerading under the various aliases of poet, philosopher, lawgiver, orator, rhetorician, pedagogue, deceased, or what not. Its rich ornament, with elaborate moldings, curved entablature, and coloristic effect, bears on the complex architectural problems of the Asiatic sarcophagi.

An important recent investigation of the sequence of these sarcophagi is summarized in the chronological table of them which Professor Morey has just published in the current number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.<sup>1</sup> He inserts the Louvre ends among the examples from the first quarter of the third century. If this dating is correct the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus is one of our very earliest Sidamara sarcophagi. And favorable arguments can be found. This is the only Sidamara sarcophagus known that keeps the curved entablature (vestigial, as it is) of the older Lydian sarcophagi. Certain other details, such as the egg-and-dart (with dart not yet supplanted by foliage) even on impost-block and tomb-portal bespeak this early a date. In fact, in its whole architectural decoration the sarcophagus is more closely related to the Lydian sarcophagi than any other of the Sidamara group that has yet come to light. On the other hand, its figures seem late. This may be because they more truly represent contemporary figure sculpture than do the figures of other coeval sarcophagi on which archaizing imitation of various earlier Hellenistic types and even types of the fourth century B. C. (perhaps, indeed, as seen though the eyes of the Hadrianic period) is usual. In any case the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus with its diverse relationships makes the Asiatic series of sarcophagi a more compact unit.

The two ends in the Louvre have already enjoyed a considerable literature. They figure in the repertoires of Bouillon,<sup>2</sup> Clarac,<sup>3</sup> and Reinach,<sup>4</sup> and in the successive Louvre catalogues, the genealogy of which one can trace back from the issue of 1922.<sup>5</sup> No adequate reproductions have been published, however. Old drawings, inaccurate but somewhat attractive because of their elimination of certain of the defacements, have been handed along from author to author until the present. One of these is reproduced on the front cover of this magazine, the other as the tailpiece of this article. The identification of the two reliefs as fragments of a sarcophagus of the Asiatic series is due to Michon. First, he called them to the attention of Strzygowski<sup>6</sup> and of Th. Reinach<sup>7</sup> (after whose mentions they appear in the periodic lists of the Asiatic sarcophagi, as in that of Muñoz);<sup>8</sup> subsequently he himself gave them their fullest publication to date.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, the long sides of the sarcophagus, it seems little less than a miracle to relate, have all but completely escaped attention, though they have been, if anything, more accessible, and are far more conspicuous and important than the ends. They have not been mentioned at all in the many studies of the Asiatic sarcophagi, and, as a matter

<sup>1</sup>Vol. XXVII, 1923, p. 69 f.

<sup>2</sup>Bouillon, tome III, *personn. grecs*, pl. 24, is cited by Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Vol. II of Text, under number 350: presumably Bouillon has this end only, the end with the tomb-portal, but I have not had access to a copy of the book to verify this reference.

<sup>3</sup>*Musée de Sculpture*, Vol. II: Text, nos. 253 and 350; Plates, no. 226.

<sup>4</sup>Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Vol. I Clarac de poche, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup>*Musée National du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Catalogue Sommaire des marbres antiques*.

<sup>6</sup>*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. X, 1901, p. 726.

<sup>7</sup>*Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, Vol. IX, 1902, p. 209.

<sup>8</sup>*Nuovo Bullettino*, Vol. XI, 1905, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup>*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Vol. XXVI, 1906, pp. 80-83.

of fact, the sum total of their literature, as far as I have been able to find, is contained (apart from a merely numerical note)<sup>1</sup> in two brief notices, so brief, in fact, that I can quote them here in full. The first is in Venturi's summary catalogue of the contents of the Villa Borghese,<sup>2</sup> where all the contents of each of the rooms are briefly listed:

"LXXV. *Due bassorilievi raffiguranti Apollo e le Muse.*  
*Opera dell'epoca degli Antonini.*"

The other is in Dütschke's book on the Ravenna sarcophagi,<sup>3</sup> in which he states his belief (not shared by scholars today) that the theory of an Asiatic origin for the Sidamara sarcophagi will fall with the further discovery of Italian examples:

"*Ein solches italisches Exemplar aber glaube ich, abgesehen von dem des Palazzo Riccardi, für dessen kleinasiatische Herkunft bis jetzt kein Beweis erbracht ist, in den beiden Langseiten eines Musensarcophags der Villa Borghese in Rom zu sehen.*"

It is scarcely necessary now to comment that both of these writers are in error: the sarcophagus is not of Antonine date (Venturi), nor is it of Italic type (Dütschke), notwithstanding its deceptive likeness to the Riccardi sarcophagus, concerning which Dütschke's exception seems, according to Morey,<sup>4</sup> to be well taken.

The literature devoted to the whole subject of the Asiatic sarcophagi and to the various examples is now very extensive. It is unnecessary for me, however, to do more than to refer, for a full account of what has been published, to a forthcoming book, in which Professor Morey will provide an exhaustive monograph on these sarcophagi and, I hope, supplement my hasty treatment of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus. It is with access to the material which he has gathered and with his never-failing help that I am encouraged to offer the modest contribution of a description of this sarcophagus.

As nearly as can be judged, the original dimensions of the trough of the sarcophagus which the adduction of the Borghese sides allows us to reconstitute were, length, c. 2.2 m., width, c. 1.1 m. The height cannot be established because of the indeterminable loss at the base; but it must have been about the same as the width. We may safely call the relief in which Apollo figures the front of the sarcophagus (Pl. XXVI). Its present gross dimensions run 2.26 m. long by 1.02 m. high. Extensive restorations at each end seem to have filled the relief out to not less than its original length. But, quite apart from restoration, the front was appreciably longer than the back, a fact of some significance and of curious consequences: we shall return to it below. The whole column at the extreme left of the front is obviously a restoration. At this corner, therefore, attaches the end which has retained the column at its extreme right (Pl. XXIX), namely the end with the tomb-portal.<sup>5</sup> Since the carved figures of the deceased on the covers of ancient sarcophagi, like the dining figures of the living on the ancient couch, commonly recline on their left

<sup>1</sup>This occurs in Bie, *Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, p. 58, note 2, where he is listing the sarcophagi of his type II, the Muses with Apollo: "II 2 v. Borghese: M.-D. 3283." Expanded this means: Type II, number 2, in the Villa Borghese, numbered 3283 in the collection of material gathered by Matz and subsequently by Duhn for the corpus of ancient sarcophagi which Robert finally undertook to publish under the auspices of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, Berlin.

<sup>2</sup>Venturi, *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Dütschke, *Ravennatische Studien*, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>"Nr. LXXV."

<sup>5</sup>*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXVII, 1923, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup>Misled by the Montferrand sarcophagus in the Hermitage, Petrograd, Th. Reinach (*op. cit.*, p. 209, note 2) printed the erroneous opinion, "*L'un des fragments provient d'une grande face.*" Following him unfortunately, Michon (*op. cit.*, p. 81, note 3) says, "*Semble la partie droite d'une grande face,*" which, however, quite independently of the Borghese sides, a glance at the architectural decoration shows to be impossible.



sides, hence with their heads to our right, we may conveniently call this left end the foot of the sarcophagus. For it the dimensions given by Michon<sup>1</sup> are 1. m. wide by 0.99 m. high. This end has forfeited the left-hand column and fits, therefore, to the back (Pl. XXVII), to which the columns of both extremities are attached with but minor loss. The present gross dimensions of the back run 2.13 m. long by 1. m. high. For the remaining end, the head (Pl. XXVIII), as we can call it, on which the almost total loss of the right-hand column harmonizes with our reassembling, the dimensions given by Michon are 1.04 m. wide by 0.99 m. high.

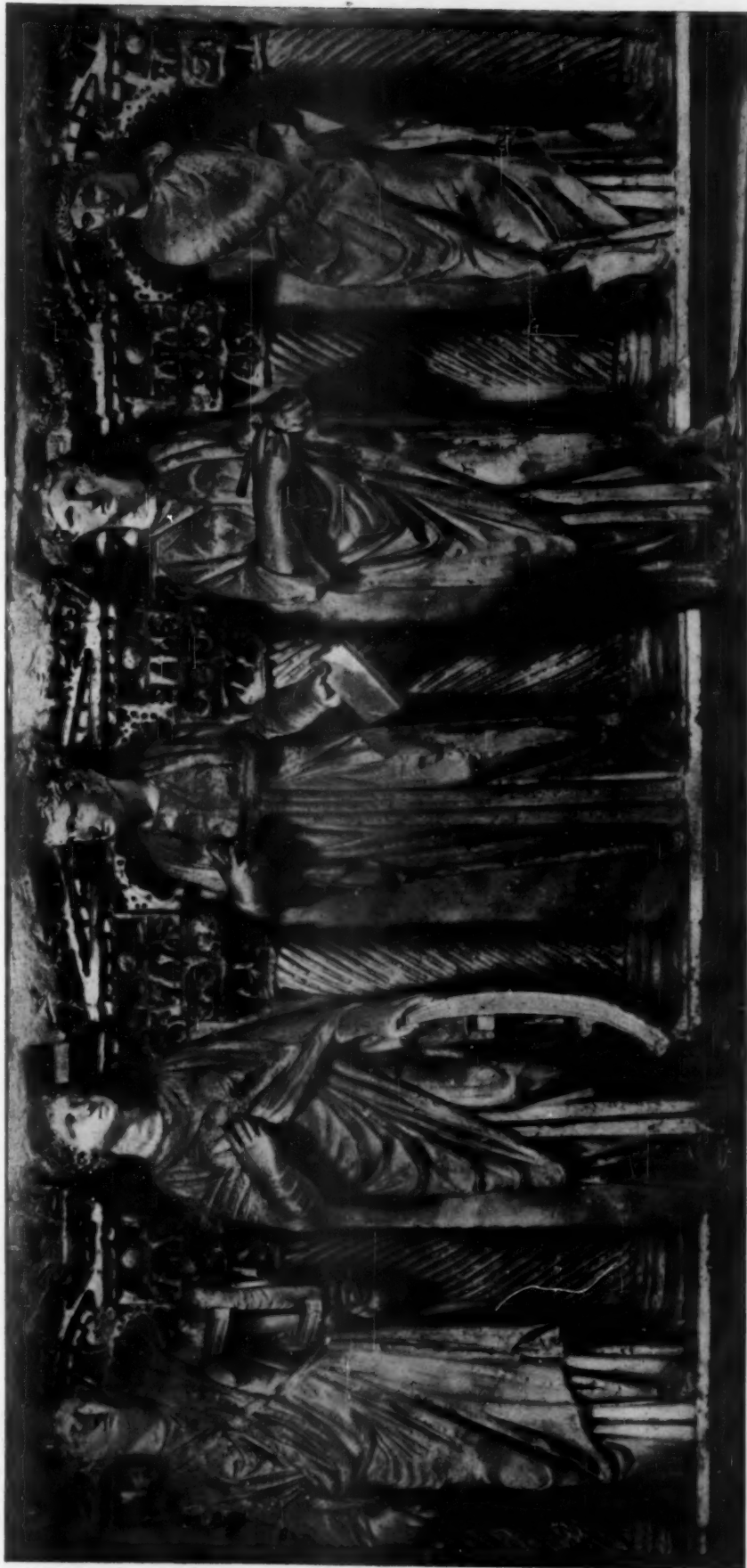
The condition of the reliefs throughout cannot but be described as distressing. As objects found before the days of modern curatorship, they have been long used as decorative pieces (those in the Louvre were used to decorate the east façade of the Villa Borghese)<sup>2</sup> and thus subjected to such weathering, mutilation, restoration, and so forth, as have not been the lot of other Sidamara sarcophagus fragments of more recent discovery. The two pieces in the Villa Borghese are now heavily encumbered with plaster and white-wash, which, however confusing to the student, give them indeed a more attractive appearance than that of the Louvre fragments, which, it must be confessed, seem to call for refreshing by some such treatment to make them more presentable. With the reliefs in their present condition it is impossible for anyone to see precisely how much is plaster and how much is marble or marble veneered with plaster. In general, the more susceptible projecting parts, especially faces, attributes, and extended limbs, have been damaged or broken away; and the smoothing over of roughened but intact parts makes the condition of the reliefs seem more ragged than it actually is. Likewise, unless one looks closely at the well preserved parts, the presence of the smoothed, plastered parts makes the remaining original workmanship seem poorer than it actually was.

Michon, who has been the only one to publish an opinion on the question, thought the marble of the Louvre ends Italian. Our power of distinguishing and locating marbles is at present inadequate to admit of a final decision on this point. It has sometimes been too great a temptation to see evidence for a favored theory in the kind of marble used. "Proconnesian" has been worked overtime, perhaps justly, but without proof. With many of the ancient quarries that might compete for consideration (particularly the Asiatic ones, from which considerations of topography make it evident that the marble of many of the Sidamara sarcophagi came) not even located, much less explored, it is premature for us systematically to deny or to allot each vagrant marble to a place of origin. Furthermore, the similarity of marbles from different quarries and the variety from the same quarry set a problem which is very complex.

The technical evolution of Mediterranean sculpture in stone from the age of Augustus to the age of Constantine lies in the gradual encroachment of the drill upon the hereditary province of the chisel. On the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus the chisel was used for the bases and spiral flutings of the columns, the conches, oves, and other less intricate decorative features. But the rest of the architectural ornament, especially the foliation, clearly shows the typical deep borings and resultant coloristic effect produced by the drill. The finish of the figures seems to have been divided about equally between the two tools: they were used in combination. On the Homer (Pl. XXVIII), for instance, one can discern the use of both on the upraised hand. Nothing could be more characteristic than the way

<sup>1</sup>Although my own measurements do not exactly agree, and Clarac has still others (in each case, no doubt, because of the somewhat ambiguous plastering), it seems best to give what may be termed the official net dimensions, as published by Michon.

<sup>2</sup>Michon, *op. cit.*, p. 80, note 2.



ROME: MUSEO BORGHESE: BACK OF THE BORGHESE-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS





the drill is suddenly brought into play to get the exaggerated shadows between the fingers: this is distinctly seen on the outer hand of each of the figures beside the tomb-portal (Pl. XXIX); the woman's fingers are broken away, thus revealing the great depth of the drill-holes between them at their springing. A comparison of these borings with others on the adjoining architecture, such as, for example, those above the conch, shows that the *marmorarius* had drills of different sizes available, just as he had by inherited practice chisels of different sizes. What now remains of the original hair is deeply and thoroughly drilled with these varying drills. For the drapery the choice between chisel and drill does not depend on the width or the direction of the fold but on the depth of shadow desired. The shadow-producing folds are those which are deep relatively to their width and which could therefore be more readily achieved by the drill.

The effect of the reliefs remaining from the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus is impaired not only by the loss along their lower edges but also by the loss, along with the cover to which it is regularly attached on sarcophagi of this type, of a projecting cornice which should crown the architectural decoration of the reliefs. With the field cut down thus the *ædiculæ* and figures are left disproportionately large.

In view of the importance of the monument I have felt that a detailed description must be given. Although the architectural decoration is in some ways more important, I follow custom in describing the figures first.

The five figures of the front (Pl. XXVI) are framed in three *ædiculæ* and the two interspaces between them. All stand on the same level and are on the same scale. Apollo in the middle is flanked by two Muses on either side, the other five Muses being on the back (Pl. XXVII). As Bie<sup>1</sup> shows by an accumulation of monumental and literary evidence, the elaboration of a set of individual functions and corresponding attributes for each of the nine Muses came very tardily in antiquity and the association of a certain Hesiodic name with each function or attribute was never rigorously established for the whole nine. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there is no thorough-going correlation between attributes and statuary types. Even within the narrow range of the Asiatic sarcophagi the same statuary type appears with different attributes. In what follows, therefore, it is for our present convenience rather than with any certainty of the original intention that a definite function and a Hesiodic name is given to each figure according to the attribute she now carries: for this reason it matters very little to us, just as it would have mattered very little to the *marmorarius*, whether, through restoration or otherwise, the attributes are interchanged or not.

All the Muses wear the chiton and the himation. The former always reaches to the ground, and it, therefore, partly conceals the feet. Before restoration, which has frequently provided it with long tight sleeves covering the forearm, it usually had, as far as my somewhat hasty examination of preserved parts could show, wide sleeves reaching about to the elbows. The Muses wear soft nondescript shoes with thick soles. Their curly hair, unadorned, is combed back over the ears and gathered in a knot on the back of the head. With one exception (Polymnia) they stand very nearly in full face view. Their heads are turned in varying degrees to look toward the middle figure on either relief. Though the shoulders remain practically horizontal, the weight is borne noticeably on one leg (*Standbein*). The other leg (*Spielbein*) with bent knee shows through the drapery. Although the types are so generalized that the numbers do not indicate iconographic accuracy, I give each Muse her number in the list of types made out by Bie in his book

<sup>1</sup>*Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, supplemented by his article on the same subject, s. v., *Musen*, in *Roschers Lexikon der Mythologie*, Vol. II, pp. 3256 ff.

just cited. They derive from Hellenistic sculpture and are repeated on three other Muse sarcophagi of the Asiatic series (British Museum, London; Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin; Villa Mattei, Rome).

In the left terminal *ædícula* of the front (Pl. XXVI) stands the Muse of History, Clio (Bie's type two, alpha, though her restored right hand is not, as usual, on her breast). Her chiton is girdled high with a narrow cord-like cincture. Her himation is draped over both shoulders and the end that falls from her right shoulder is carried across in front in a thick mass that wraps about her left wrist and supports her right forearm. Her weight rests on her right leg, toward which her body is turned slightly, while her head is turned in the other direction. Although the hands, like the face, are restored, the identifying attribute, the rotulus held in her left hand, remains to make our naming easy.

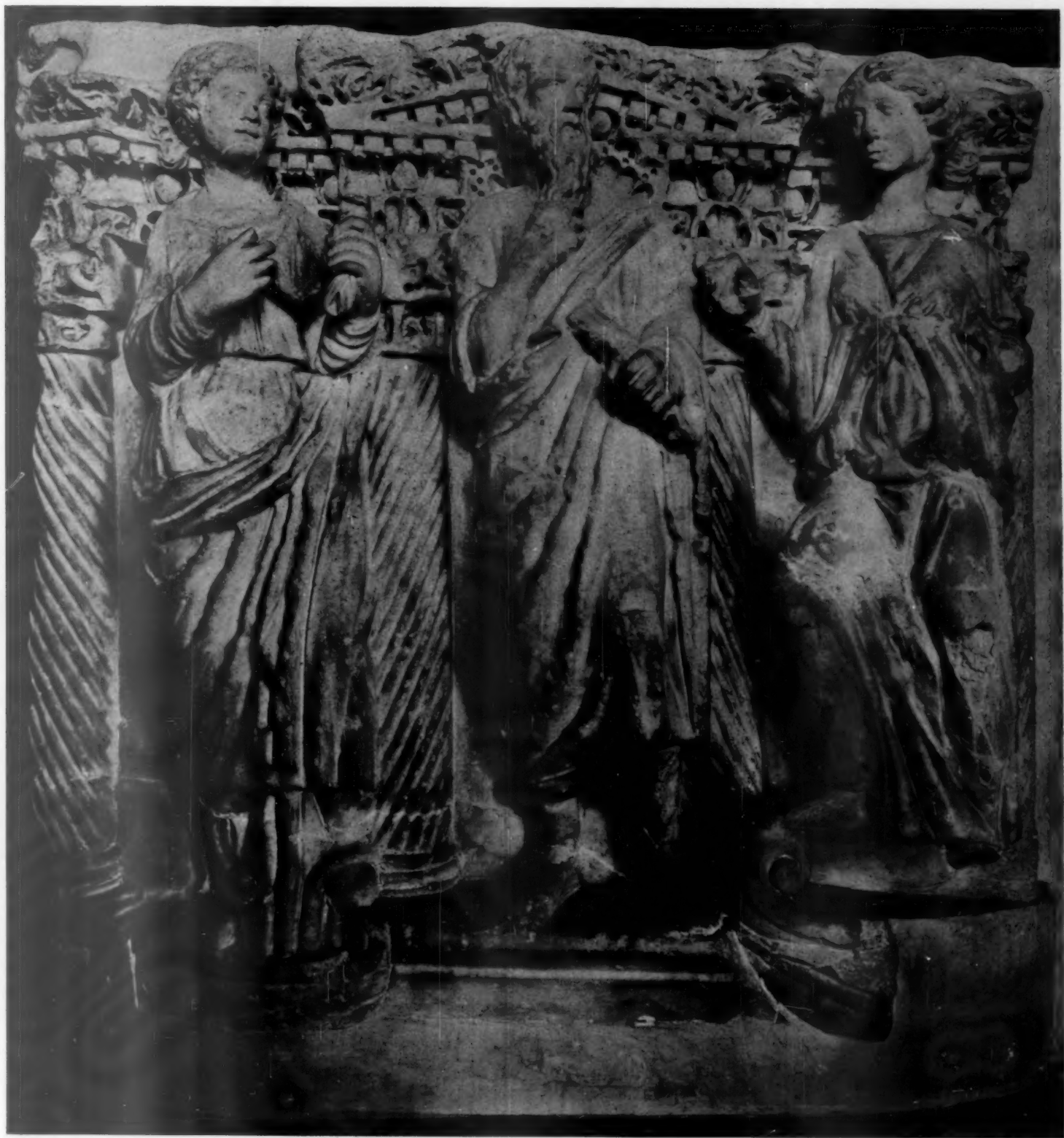
In the left interspace stands the Muse of Music, Euterpe (Bie's type one, eta). Her chiton is girdled by a wide belt with seamed edges and scroll embroidery. The himation hangs down the back pendant from each shoulder where it is knotted; the corners hang down to the belt in front. The restoration of the sleeved forearms holding each a pipe is not convincing in detail. The pose of the figure is similar to that of Clio, but Euterpe is a little taller and she turns her head more sharply to the right.

In the middle *ædícula* the succession of the Muses is interrupted by Apollo Musagetes playing the lyre (Bie's type one, epsilon, a muse type occasionally assumed by Apollo). He is turned to the right in three-quarters view, nude to the hips save for his left shoulder, while over his right shoulder his long hair hangs. With extensive restorations, the most unpleasant features of which are the solidifying of the hair on top of the head and the emphasizing of the conspicuously wooden right arm and hand playing the lyre, he stands firmly on his right leg, his left foot being raised to rest on the plinth of the adjoining column base. He wears no chiton. The himation is draped around his hips and only an end is carried up to be thrown over his left shoulder from behind; from his hips it falls nearly to the ankles, which like the feet are bare as now restored, but it leaves exposed his upraised leg to the knee, because it is caught up on the thigh to support the lyre, which rests against his left shoulder.

In the right interspace stands looking toward Apollo the Muse of Comedy, Thalia (Bie's type three, lambda, which, however, occurs more commonly reversed). A narrow girdle gathers the chiton beneath her breasts. The himation is thrown back over her left shoulder, carried low on her right side, and hung doubled in front from a heavy roll above her hips. In her right hand she holds the comic mask, in her left hand the pedom. The bending of her right leg is accompanied by a freer curve of the body than the others have.

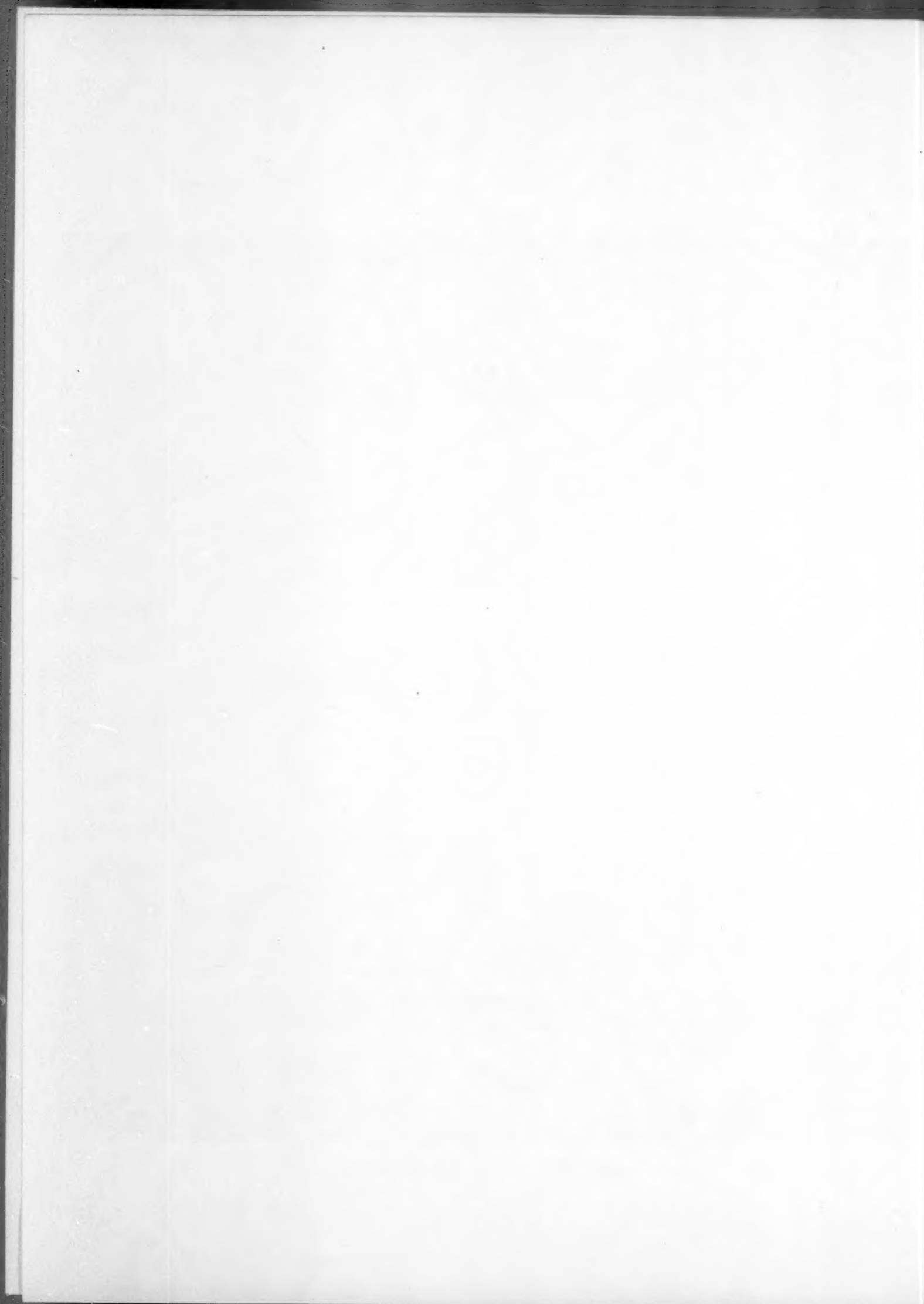
In the right terminal *ædícula* is the Tragic Muse, Melpomene (Bie's type three, beta). The pose of the body and the girdled chiton are analogous to those of Euterpe. The himation, however, is different: it is massed in heavy folds over the left shoulder and arm. The much restored head is different too in consequence of its being turned like all the rest toward the middle. On the breast may have been a diminutive Gorgoneion. The attributes, as restored, are the tragic mask in her left hand and the short sword—really no more than a dagger—in her right.

Passing on around the corner (originally; now we must pass from Rome to Paris) to the head of the sarcophagus (Pl. XXVIII), we find but three figures narrowly confined in an *ædícula* and flanking interspaces. The sequence of the Muses is again interrupted, this time by a figure of Homer attended by the Iliad and the Odyssey (there are not sufficient attributes for distinguishing between the latter two figures). The three figures are accommodated to the more restricted quarters by being made on a smaller scale than



PARIS, LOUVRE: HEAD OF THE BORGHESE-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS







those of the front and back of the sarcophagus. To raise them to the same approximate height they are elevated on a continuous podium, which cuts across the column bases and projects sufficiently to give the figures a footing; to the right and left the projection takes the form of the prow of a ship seen in profile.

In the left interspace the personified poem stands in full face view, and somewhat awkwardly because her left knee, being in full face, is but slightly bent though the foot is raised on the curl of the prow. She turns her face, clumsily repaired, toward the Homer. Her chiton, long like those of the Muses, is girdled high but the girdle concealed by a fold of the chiton pulled up through it. The himation appears on her left shoulder, swings low on her right side, and hangs from a roll that runs diagonally across her abdomen up to her left arm. The restored forearms and hands are awkward and meaningless as they now appear, both raised, the left holding an end of drapery.

The Homer forms a welcome break in the series of youthful feminine types, to which the Apollo did not constitute a noticeable exception. The austere aged figure, with shaggy hair and long beard, happens to be well preserved. Visible on his right breast, shoulder, and arm, is the chiton; otherwise his body is closely wrapped in the himation, which reaches to his shins. The feet are sandaled. His left knee is bent. His body is posed rather easily, in full front view, and he looks slightly to the right. His exposed right forearm is raised and the hand grasps the beard; his left hand, barely projecting from the himation tightly holds a rotulus.

The other personification, resting her weight on her left leg (the foot now broken away below the drapery), plants her raised right foot on the curl of the prow. This whole leg and foot are in profile and the other leg is turned somewhat in the same direction. The torso is in full face but the head, heavily restored, is turned toward the Homer again. Her right hand likewise is raised toward him in the gesture of speech (which was probably the gesture also of the figure opposite). Her left arm, much of which is concealed by the drapery, has lost the wrist and hand, which evidently projected directly forward; it was probably restored and the restoration lost too.

Again we round the corner (and find ourselves back in Rome), to return to the Muses (Pl. XXVII), the remaining five of which are arranged like the five figures of the sarcophagus front. Those in the *ædiculæ*, however, are slightly smaller, each *ædícula* having a podium which supports the diminished figure as well as the two columns whose pedestals it supplants.

In the left terminal *ædícula* stands the Muse of the Chorus, Terpsichore (Bie's type one, gamma). Although her pose is in no way exceptional, her right knee bent, her head turned toward the middle, the anatomy seems to be understood unusually well. The himation is worn in the standard way, twice over her left shoulder and once under her right arm. Her right hand (it seems unlikely that the motive is one that would come to a restorer's mind entirely unsuggested although the hand, one cannot fail to see, is restored) has pulled out from below and wrapped itself in some of the himation that doubled passes diagonally across the front of the body. Her left hand holds the lyre firmly supported against her left side and arm. The instrument seems to be attached like a quiver or sword by a strap hanging diagonally from the opposite shoulder, for this reason it might be called a *phorminx*.

In the left interspace is the Muse of Love, Erato (Bie's type one, beta). Although her legs are the reverse of the preceding figure's, body and head are in nearly the same position. Peculiar is the narrow piece of the himation, presumably the end that would normally fall down behind, that is brought forward around her right arm and pulled across

cornerwise down to her left wrist, thus cutting the usual diagonal folds at right angles. Her right hand, restored as usual, is raised to her breast; her left rests on the lyre, crowded in between her and the adjoining column, and resting on its plinth. The instrument is larger than the two already mentioned: perhaps it could be called a cithara.

The middle *ædícula* (Pl. XXX) is occupied by the Epic Muse, Calliope (Bie's type two, *theta*). Her position and appearance resemble those of Euterpe and Melpomene of the sarcophagus front with the following differences: her head is turned in three-quarters profile to the left; her belt is narrower and lacks the scroll design; her himation is worn like a cape, mainly behind her, but an end comes over each shoulder and runs down within the girdle to the loin; her attributes as restored (along with the projecting hands that hold them) are a tablet in her left hand and a rotulus in her right.

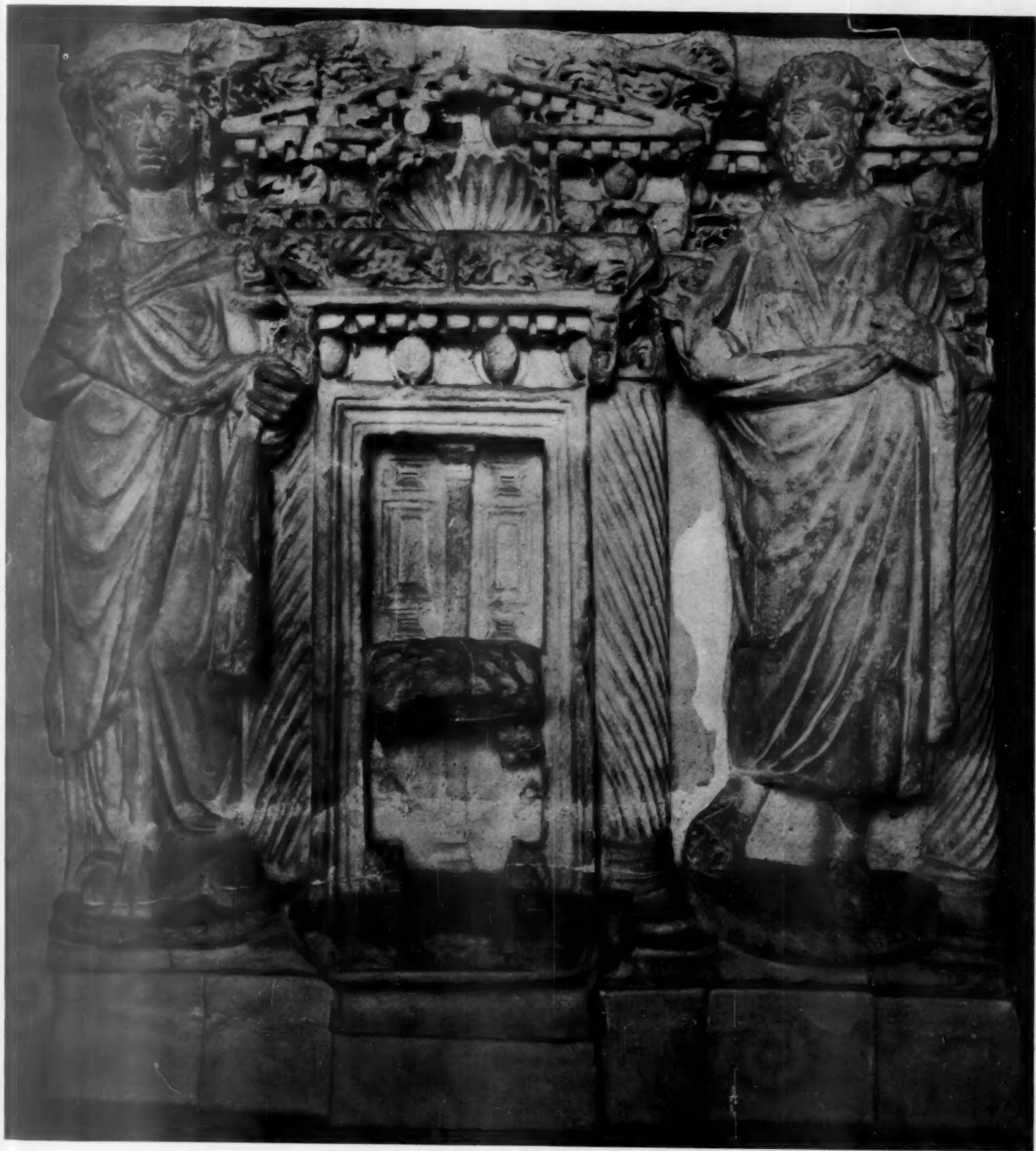
In the right interspace is the Muse of Astronomy, Urania (Bie's type four, *beta*). Her left knee is bent awkwardly; her face is at present rigidly frontal, but the way in which the hair seems to grow further forward on her left cheek indicates that the face originally turned a little toward the middle figure. The himation is not thrown back a second time over her left shoulder but is caught tight at her elbow. Her attributes, restored of course, are the globe and the stylus, or whatever one chooses to call the curious but frequently occurring stick in her stiffly restored right hand.

The remaining Muse, in the right terminal *ædícula*, is Polymnia (Bie's type two, *beta*), she who presides over oratory and sacred poetry. She stands easily, the weight on her right leg, her left elbow resting heavily on a tree-trunk, toward which she turns her body in three-quarters view. But the head (restored with moderate correctness as to position, I believe) turns back toward the middle of the relief, and her left leg, free of weight, swings back in front of the right leg in the same direction. A bit of the chiton appears near her feet and at her left elbow. Otherwise the himation wraps up the body, legs, arms, and even right hand. Her right arm showing through the tight himation is raised toward her neck; the elbow rests on her left hand, which holds a rotulus.

Again we turn the corner (returning to Paris) and come to the foot of the sarcophagus (Pl. XXIX). The architectural framework is like that of the head; in the middle *ædícula* is the tomb-portal (the description of which we shall postpone in order to treat it with the rest of the architectural decoration) and in the flanking interspaces are figures on the reduced scale of those of the sarcophagus head. The two figures and the tomb-portal are also similarly raised on an elevation, here hardly a podium (since it is discontinuous, only concealing the column base to the left of the tomb-portal), but rather a succession of three pedestals: at the sides, they have the rounded form of statue pedestals seen in relief, appropriate for the figures; in the middle, in front of the tomb-portal to support the offering-table, is a pedestal of greater projection, broken, but probably segmental.

At the left is a female figure, with head veiled, wearing long chiton, and himation one end of which is brought round again over her right arm and diagonally down into her left hand, from which folds hang to the knee. The head and body are nearly in full face, though the figure has a kind of Praxitelean double curve—in the third dimension too. Her left knee, clumsily restored, is bent; her feet are shod like those of the Muses. Both hands are busy with the drapery, her left restored, her right, on her right breast, barely projecting from the himation and mostly broken away.

At the right is a male figure with thick tufts of hair and full beard. He too is frontal but with a definite walking pose that goes much further than the bending of his right knee. The short chiton is seen only on the breast. The himation is worn wrapped about both shoulders, covering both arms, and falling nearly to the ankles; a heavy roll of it that



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passes across his waist is grasped by his battered left hand; his right hand, now broken away, was supported at the other side by this same roll from which it but slightly projected. The feet are sandaled.

The description of the architecture is simplified by the resemblance between the two sides and between the two ends. One description with minor qualifications applies to both front and back (Cf. Pls. XXVI, XXVII, XXX).

The three *ædiculæ* and interspaces on the front and on the back of the sarcophagus are carried out in the architecture common to the Asiatic sarcophagi. The columns of the front stand on pedestals (which have at present no base-molding but rest directly on the wide fillet which forms the restored lower edge of the sarcophagus front) in the form of a die with a cap-molding consisting of a heavy fillet above a cant molding, something less than a quarter-round; the columns of the back stand on the above-mentioned *podia* the original form of which is concealed by plaster but was apparently that of a rectangular block with a cap consisting of a cant molding and fillet. On pedestal or podium rests the plinth, a very thin square plate. The column base has three toruses with no real trochilus, though the lowest torus is of so exaggerated a projection that it offers a wide upper surface in which a groove is sunk so as to give this torus a bulging edge. The other two toruses are but little wider and no thicker than the heavy shaft-ring, which seems one of them save for its flatter upper surface. The shafts are spirally fluted, upward and inward for each *ædícula*. The height of the shaft is about five times the diameter, exclusive of the ring at the bottom and the astragal at the top; they with the base and pedestal (or podium) make up another diameter approximately. The height of the capital is about 1.2 diameters. It consists of two parts, both derived from the Corinthian order, a round *acanthus* bell, and a square block comprising an elaboration of the corner volutes and returning spirals as well as the abacus proper. The two parts are of nearly equal height and are sharply distinguished despite the historical connection of the volutes and spirals with the growth below. The foliage of the bell is now so mutilated and plastered up that it is difficult to make out in detail. Deep drilling, coloristic treatment, would make the foliation sufficiently confused, but when this confusion is supplemented by such damage, it makes it impossible to see more than a suggestion of what was intended. Only after comparison with better preserved examples is the arrangement clear. Of the traditional eight leaves with which the capital would be provided traces of three slender, spiky, many-lobed ones show on the side toward us, one in the middle with deep boring on its face and around and under it, and two below the corners right and left, shooting out sharp lobes to those of the middle leaf. The leaves are joined in a continuous, undifferentiated, overhanging lip, which forms the division between the two members of the capital. A stem rises from the tip of the middle leaf to carry an overhanging leaf-end that bulges out from the middle of the slightly concave abacus. Between the abacus and the bell are seen four volutes of equal size. They are fragile and undercut but protected by being connected with the foliage by pins. The outer volutes seem to depend from the corners of the abacus and curl inward; the middle ones seem to depend from the middle leaf stem and curl outward.

Although the fluting of the columns relates them to their respective *ædiculæ*, their regular spacing, as of a colonnade, suffers but one significant variation: Terpsichore's *ædícula*, at the left end of the back, is much narrower. The sculptor made up here rather abruptly for the shortness of the back.

The columns carry a discontinuous entablature. It is broken out *en ressaut* above the capitals and returned along the wall across the intercolumniation. It is interrupted

in its horizontal movement by conches (fluted upward) in the *ædiculæ*, although all but the lower part follows the line of the gable and arches.

The moldings of the entablature are: a leaf-and-dart on a practically flat cyma reversa, a narrow fillet, an egg-and-dart (Puzzle: find the dart! A diligent search reveals one at the left of Euterpe, and one only!) on a flattened ovolo, a row of heavy dentils, a wide fillet, a coloristic, palmettized scroll on a shallow cavetto, a vague narrow crowning fillet. Above the capitals the dentils and wide fillet twice appear, once for the horizontal cornice of the *ædiculæ*, which is however interrupted so that it covers little more than a capital, and again for the raking or arched cornice. The ovolo also appears in its proper place beneath them. The space between it and the conch, scarcely more than two small spandrels, inadequate to receive the fillet and cyma, which are in order, is decorated with scattered drill-holes. The horizontal lower edge of the conch rests on the adjoining capitals.

The outer angles of the gables are decorated with unclear acroteria, presumably of palmette design. And it is not certain how the gutter was treated, if indeed there was anything more than the crowning fillet already mentioned. The gables spring from above the outer corners of the capitals but the arches from above the middle. The latter leave thus a vacancy beyond their springing. This was filled with diminutive groups, probably of struggling animals.

The architectural decoration of head and foot is nearly alike except for the tomb-portal of the latter (Cf. Pls. XXVIII, XXIX). There are four columns, approximately equidistant but inevitably much nearer together than the columns of the sides. The two middle ones, fluted spirally upward and inward, belong to a middle *ædicula*, while the two outer ones belong to the end-*ædiculæ* of the long sides. Although the columns' pedestals, and bases in part, are concealed by the various pedestal and podium arrangements for the figures, they generally resemble, as do the columns' other features, what we have already studied on the long sides. The architrave is analogous to, and in fact a continuation of, that on the sides. It has, however, a surprising feature which appears most conspicuously on the head of the sarcophagus at the left. Here it does not spring out *en ressaut* at right angles over the column but it is curved out from behind the personification, that stands further forward than the Homer, and it thus bridges over in a curious way the left side of the intercolumniation. In this way a greater projection of the entablature is secured, and it is needed because the column at this end is set further forward than the middle ones. A little beyond the inner line of its shaft a slight angle in the entablature is made by canting it back to the left. This canting I conceive to be due possibly to a final adjustment at this corner to the decoration of the front. Part of the unusual projection of the corner may be due to the circumstance that the front of the sarcophagus is longer than the back, though so slight a disparity would easily have been absorbed by a diagonal surface, without any such rough methods. At any rate, the curved entablature and the elimination of the right angle *en ressaut* were not accidental. For that the right hand corner was analogous is evidenced by two circumstances: the figure here is likewise standing forward, and the entablature is preserved past the inner line of the shaft without any indication of a *ressaut*, despite the fact that the column on this side is, like its counterpart, further forward than the middle columns, above which a decided *ressaut* was resorted to. On the foot the entablature at the left is almost entirely destroyed, but that of the right intercolumniation shows the same curve instead of a *ressaut*. The corner is preserved to show that there was no canting here. The plan of the ends was, then, that of an *ædicula* projecting from a wide, shallow niche. Of the two *ædiculæ* there only remains



ROME, MUSEO BORGHESE: MIDDLE ÆDICULA FROM THE BORGHESE-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS







to be said that the mass of the corner palmette acroteria is conspicuous though details are lost and that it is doubtful whether the gutter had any special decoration. Above the entablature at the corners that joined the front of the sarcophagus are the unmistakable remains of diminutive animals. By analogy, these were probably lions pulling down bulls around the corner of the sarcophagus. The canting on the head of the sarcophagus would have made it easier to work a continuous group around the angle.

The tomb-portal of the foot of the sarcophagus is so wide that it crowds the columns on either side of its *ædicula* and even partly conceals them. It has a heavy hood, borne at each end by brackets in the form of the *cyma reversa* with the ends rolled into a scroll. Between the brackets are the *ovolo* with egg-and-dart and the heavy *dentils*, while upward the usual succession is continued, with the wide *fillet*, the *cavetto* with palmettized scrolls, and the crowning *fillet* (here so slight as to be practically non-existent). The moldings of the lintel and jambs of the portal proper are an *ogee*, the lower concave curve of which is very wide, between a narrow *fillet* within and a wide one without. The doorway is divided by a *trumeau* with molded base (*toruses*) and cap (*astragal*, *torus*, bell with leaves, *quadrate abacus*). Accordingly, the door itself is bivalved. The upper part of each valve has plain *stiles*, an upright sunken panel contained by an *ogee*, and above and below this panel oblong, faceted projections, the lateral facets curved inward, the horizontal ridge grooved. The lower parts are partly, and were more, hidden by a lion-legged offering table, presumably conceived in the form of a three-legged side table, but now lacking the front leg. The now indistinct offerings may have been fruits with their foliage.

From this long description emerge various points that provoke discussion. The character of this article being purely descriptive it precludes anything more than the cursory mention of a half dozen moot matters on which the study of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus appears to throw light.

Any information we can obtain about the methods of an ancient atelier is always of value. From the description of our sarcophagus it seems possible to state with certainty the way in which the work was carried along. The design was laid out with reference to the front, and the back was made to conform to the scale as best it might. The back seems certainly to have progressed from right to left and the head probably so. Presumably the tools used made it natural to go to the left all the way round. Such a manner of working would explain the evidences of poorer workmanship on the head. We have ample evidence that sarcophagi were finished sometimes in haste, or left sometimes unfinished. The maladjustment at the corner of head and front looks like the careless conclusion of a job. It is interesting to observe that botchwork on the head occurs on other Asiatic sarcophagi. Morey has noted it on the new Sardis sarcophagus.<sup>1</sup> On the head of the Sidamara sarcophagus, despite the superlative workmanship on the podium, Mendel emphasizes considerable defects in the principal scene: the awkward composition, the unintelligible relations of the animals, and the crowding and consequent diminution of the horse's head in the same niche as the man's.<sup>2</sup> I might add the comment that the scene in question is moreover a direct continuation of the scene on the back of the Sidamara sarcophagus—the rider makes the sixth needed to balance the composition of the back—and the architecture of the corner separating them is most summarily treated. Back and head belong together architecturally; but their surprising substitution of a later kind of architecture (the pendant arcade and, to get equal height over a narrower span, the horseshoe arch on

<sup>1</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>*Musées impériales ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, no. 112, pp. 288 ff.

the head) follows not from their being later than the front and foot but from their being less conspicuous and thus offering, as the predella offered to the quattrocento painter, a chance to progress without offending public taste.

A much discussed question is that of the center of production of the Sidamara sarcophagi. The current opinion is that they were the product of an exporting atelier, or, since our terminology is bound to be inaccurate and anachronistic anyway, perhaps it would be more suggestive to say, the merchandise of a mail-order house, for the trade lay within, not without, national limits. One cannot help wondering how such freight was shipped. There was, of course, an enormous marble trade in antiquity, one, in fact, that modern artists look back to with a sigh. The shipments, however, when not of unworked stone, were of pieces more portable because smaller (capitals, transennæ, revetment slabs, statues, etc.) or less breakable (drums, bases, etc.) than are these sarcophagi. We are properly impressed, it is true, by the feat of Theodoric in transporting the dome of his mausoleum from the quarries of Istria, and the huge stones of the pyramids are the gaping-stock of thousands; the transportation in such cases was mainly or wholly by water. Yet the topography of the Asiatic sarcophagi, as mapped out by Morey,<sup>1</sup> shows their popularity in inland regions. It was a problem of reaching a clientèle by land—another reason why the term "exporting atelier" may be misleading. Of course gigantic building stones are found at ancient sites remote from water transportation, but how far have they come? Always, as far as our evidence goes, from a nearby source. If there must be an alternative to the platitude: "God in His wisdom has channelled river beds or brought the lake or boundless sea near to the sites of great cities," it is "Or failing this He has at least placed quarries in the neighborhood of those that work in megalithic wise." As concerns the sarcophagi in question, let us take a concrete example, and what better example than the titular one, the Sidamara sarcophagus? There are (whatever the source of its marble, which Reinach considers local) four cogent reasons for believing it was worked on the spot. The first is the inaccessibility of Sidamara: it lies at least sixty miles as the crow flies, and much further over any mountain roads past or present, from the nearest possible point of debarkation.<sup>2</sup> The second is the massiveness of the sarcophagus: Th. Reinach<sup>3</sup> gives the weight of the trough as seventeen long tons and the weight of the cover as thirteen, each of a single piece, and these figures do not seem exaggerated when we consider that the former is six feet wide, twice as long, and nearly as high, while the latter is somewhat wider and longer, two feet high all over, and more than twice that counting the reclining figures. No wonder that, after leaving it neglected for a quarter century, the Turks took months getting it to Constantinople, constructing special vehicles to bring it to the railroad and there loading it on two locomotive trucks: even with our heavy railroad equipment the ordinary load of an American box car is but ten tons. The third reason is the fragility of the carving. Nowadays we are unable to lift, load, and transport such objects to or from out-of-the-way places, where cartage and rehandling are involved, without breakage. The Sidamara sarcophagus is unfortunately itself an example; but one does not need to go so far afield—witness the left side of the counterpart of the "Ludovisi Throne" in the Boston Museum.<sup>4</sup> The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus illustrates (especially, as we have seen, in the case of the dart of the egg-and-dart) what happens when decoration of the Sidamara

<sup>1</sup>*Op. cit.*, pl. XVII, fig. 10, and accompanying text.

<sup>2</sup>No map of this region that I am able to find permits an exact statement of the distances, but Morey's map just cited, shows the general relationships, provided that one remembers that a chain of mountains skirts the shore.

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup>A reproduction will appear in the next number of *The Art Bulletin*, pl. XLIV.

type is handled too much. The fourth reason is the futility of doing the work on the sarcophagus elsewhere. A considerable amount of local work was indispensable to the placing of the sarcophagus in its permanent setting. Reliable workmen would have to be present for that. Why not send the carvers to the scene in the first place and avoid dealings at long range and transportation charges? The men would have been easier to transport than the sarcophagus. It is important to note that at Sardis, the only place, as far as I know, where systematic excavation has fully revealed the setting as well as the Asiatic sarcophagus, Morey finds that the carvers were sent to do the work on the spot.<sup>1</sup> For the reasons given it seems to me safe to assume that the carvers were sent to Sidamara too. All this does not controvert the theory of an original center of production (which dispatched sarcophagi in varying stages of completion as well as workmen) for the Sidamara sarcophagi. The adhesion to type and the repetition of architectural motives and of figures makes a common origin for many of the sarcophagi virtually a certainty. But we must be wary in trying to fix the center of production geographically. For, apparently, it came to be associated with a certain group of workmen, rather than with a certain place, a group representatives of which might turn up in various places, using local or imported marble, as convenience might dictate, but always using their own methods and designs. Instead of the metropolitan civilization (or even "small town life") in which so much of the art of the later Christian centuries was conceived, there existed at this time a cosmopolitan civilization, due to the annealing fire of imperialism, and thanks to which the Asiatic sarcophagi, originating, as Professor Morey seems conclusively to show, at Ephesus, might in their various modifications enjoy a wide diffusion. This diffusion I consider to have been effected in part through the migration of the carvers so that the artistic unity of the series is not challenged by the discovery of the use of a variety of marbles, according to local demands, or by the existence of diverse sub-types.

The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus shows with unusual clearness the relation of the architecture of the trough to that of the Asiatic stage façades. For instance, the *scenae frons* of Aizanoi (which I single out for mention because it is illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pl. XV, Fig. 6) presents the arrangement of our reconstituted sarcophagus as seen from the end: in the middle is a rectangular gabled *ædicula* in a concave niche, as on either end of the sarcophagus; at the right and at the left a gabled *ædicula* between two arched ones on a flat wall, as on either side of the sarcophagus. There are further but less significant resemblances, such as the separate podium for each of the lateral *ædiculae*, as on the back of the sarcophagus, and the inevitable main door in the middle *ædicula*, corresponding to the tomb-portal. It is best not to press the analogies too far, for the architectural scheme of the stage façades had become common property, and that it was not the only source to be drawn upon in creating the type of the Asiatic sarcophagi is shown by their covers.

The Asiatic sarcophagi (excluding as above the Riccardi sarcophagus) have, as far as known examples go, but one kind of cover, the *kline* with reclining figure or figures. Because of a fundamental association of ideas, the bed form of grave, leaving other peoples as the Egyptians out of consideration, is found throughout the Greek world: many examples are gathered in Volmoeller's monograph, *Griechische Kammergräber mit Totenbetten*. But the reclining figures on top are peculiarly popular among the Etruscans, and like other Etruscan fashions they were taken over and spread by the conquering Romans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>For examples and bibliography see Altmann, *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarcophage*, in particular, part I, chapter 4. Sometimes the cover only (as is the case with the Asiatic sarcophagi), more rarely the whole, is conceived as the *kline*.



It concerns us particularly that they found favor in the Eastern provinces. The motive is sometimes garbled. At Palmyra, which failed in other ways to take Rome verbatim, we find reclining figures under the end of the bed as well as grouped in relief on the cover.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere forms evolved even more sumptuous than the Italic prototypes. The bed reaches an elaboration that makes it fit to associate with the rich architectural and figure decorations that like it characterize the Asiatic sarcophagi, and it undoubtedly contributed to their popularity and influence.<sup>2</sup> Though they are so frequently lost, the covers were of considerable importance not only as furnishing portraits of the owners but also as giving the fundamental orientation to the decoration of the sarcophagus. The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus shows this orientation clearly. The only figures of the front and back that are not paired and centered, namely, the Apollo and the Calliope, look toward the head of the sarcophagus. This might be accidental in the case of the Calliope, but in the case of the Apollo it must be premeditated and a similar emphatic profiling of the middle figure of the front toward the head of the sarcophagus is seen on the above-named two key examples in the Ottoman Museum, from Sidamara and Selefkeh.

The foot of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus involves also a point in orientation. There are two places that immediately suggest themselves as locations for the tomb-portal. One, the front of the sarcophagus, we might describe as opposite the face of the deceased, since the inmate could be conceived as reclining on the left side like the portrait on top. Even if the inmate were conceived as flat on his back like an Egyptian mummy, other considerations like the position of the heart and the desire for hypothetical accessibility would insure the preference of the front to the back: the outer case of the wooden sarcophagus from the tomb of Dehuti-Nekht at El Bershah, now in the Boston Museum, has the tomb-portal painted toward the right of the front on the inner side, that is, with Egyptian literalism, right beside the head of the mummy. Classical taste and symmetry were both opposed to such displacement of the tomb-portal toward the right; they demanded that it be placed in the middle of the front, but the various sarcophagi with this arrangement do not concern us here. The other natural location for the tomb-portal, the foot of the sarcophagus, we might describe as in front of the deceased, since if he rose it would be in that direction. (Probably the custom of depositing more than one corpse in a sarcophagus would work in favor of this arrangement.)<sup>3</sup> This is the location regularly chosen on the Asiatic sarcophagi. The Melfi sarcophagus<sup>4</sup> seems at first sight an exception, but there are reasons to suppose that its cover has been reversed, as is notoriously the case with the Sidamara sarcophagus. As the Melfi sarcophagus is set up at present the middle figure of the front is in full face, the others being paired, but the middle figure of the back is in profile toward the foot of the sarcophagus, as is also her neighbor in front of her; if the cover were whirled around the orientation would be like that described above on the Borghese-Louvre, Sidamara, and Selefkeh sarcophagi and retained on the other members of the Asiatic series (as far as we have enough preserved to determine orientation, and except for the labors of Heracles in which, apart from that of the Cretan Bull, it becomes a tradition to turn him to the right). At present the lifting bosses at the ends of the cover do not exactly coördinate with the rough-hewn projections from the gables below: one is displaced to the right, the other to the left; reversal of the cover would

<sup>1</sup>Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Altmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f. Cf., e. g., Robert, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, nos. 21, 25, 69 and Vol. III, nos. 163, 221, 223.

<sup>3</sup>As would seated burial if practiced at this time; it plays a conspicuous part in the stories told of the finds made in sarcophagi during the Middle Ages.

<sup>4</sup>*Antike Denkmäler*, Vol. III, Pls. 22-24 and Delbrueck, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. XXVIII, 1913, pp. 277-308. The present front view is reproduced in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pl. XIV, Fig. 5.



correct this. It is hard to see why the tomb-portal would be placed behind the corpse: the present orientation seems as unreasonable as it is unprecedented.

The head of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus, though it bears only negatively on the question of orientation, is of great iconographic interest. Though I must omit here, as throughout, any discussion of the origin and history of the types, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the suitability of those chosen. The reminiscence of the architecture of the theater, that medium of intellectual interchange occupying in antiquity a position analogous to that of our periodical press, may be dismissed as adventitious. But Apollo and the Muses<sup>1</sup> were intended to stand for what was best in Classical civilization, and the bible of that civilization composed of two testaments, the Iliad and the Odyssey, accompanied by the author, properly found a place among them, while the two ministrants, conceived as persons, perhaps even portraits, perform appropriate rites at the door of Hades, of which Homer had so beautifully sung. Here is a summary presentment of the ideals of humanism: piety, intelligence, beauty—ideals that were sufficient even unto death.

<sup>1</sup>A recent study of the Muses in sarcophagus decoration, supplementing the works of Bie cited above, is Dütschke's article in the *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. XXVII, 1912, pp. 129-145.



## In Memoriam

### Sir Christopher Wren, 1632-1723

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

Frederic Harrison, too recently dead to have his place assigned in the culture of the English-speaking peoples, closes his capital, short essay on centenaries with these words: "Humanity owes reverence to its ancestors as a social and even a religious duty. But it is only when posterity can calmly weigh the entire posthumous influence of their lives as a whole." In other words, "the truth is with time." A man the second centenary of whose death has just been celebrated and whose birth dates back to within a decade of three hundred years may appropriately receive some notice in this issue of *The Art Bulletin*.

Sir Christopher Wren was a man of rare type, both a great scientist and a great artist. His science was mathematical and astronomical; his art was architecture. Newton is reported to have called him the first mathematician of his day. He combined, to a remarkable degree, the mental qualities of the theoretical, imaginative, and practical man. So widely divergent were his practical inventions as astronomical instruments and a machine for sowing grain evenly. He did much with the subjects of latitude and wind, thereby greatly improving the science of navigation. If he had done nothing more, he would in this alone have been a potent forwarder of civilization. He conceived and carried through the idea of a hospital for sailors—the first. He was a founder of the Royal Society and a contributor to its learning through fifty-seven years. He was a good Greek and Latin scholar, and a master of English whether used in a scientific treatise, a dissertation on beauty, or a business letter. He was a naturalist who loved the beauty of nature. None other could write of "the lofty woods with their clamorous republic of rooks, the great fountains, the placid pools." As a draughtsman he was superb. He was a useful member of Parliament. He was a great favorite socially. I could treble this list of his capacities and achievements, but I shall end it by adding the single fact that he was the most distinguished architect the English-speaking race has yet produced. When Wren was twenty-one, his lifelong friend, the diarist Evelyn, referred to him as "that miracle of a youth." He died, past ninety, a miraculous old man. The world's valuation of him has risen steadily as posterity has calmly weighed the "posthumous influence" of his life. He is an ancestor to whom humanity does "owe reverence."

To enumerate only a few of the historical events with which he came into personal contact is enough to spring even the dullest imagination. A boy of eleven, at Westminster school, he helped defend the Abbey against the Puritan mob, and he saw its leader killed by a tile thrown from the roof. He saw his royalist uncle, the Bishop of Ely, go prisoner to the Tower of London, and he heard the bells toll for Archbishop Laud, and for Stafford, on whose death Evelyn made the entry, "the wisest head in England was severed from the shoulders of Lord Stafford." He saw and knew what drove the Puritans to cross the Atlantic. At sixteen he entered Oxford, then a royalist camp, where Charles the First held court, as well as a seat of learning. He knew the beheadal of Charles the First and, ten years later, the death of Cromwell, of whose funeral Evelyn entered in his diary, "the joyfulest I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs." Wren was no "dog." He saw the restoration of Charles the Second. In 1665 he knew the Great Plague in London, of which Pepys, Evelyn, and Defoe have written, actually and imaginatively, what is unique among the records of horror. In 1666 came the Great Fire in London, the accounts of which by Pepys, Evelyn, and Defoe are again unequalled in mastery. The venerable Gothic cathedral of St. Paul was burned, along with scores of churches and thousands of other buildings. Evelyn made this entry, "the stones of Paule's flew like granados, the melting lead running down the streets in streams." What this meant and how vast the old church was may be understood from the fact that the completely leaded roof had an area of six acres.

It was the fire that brought Christopher Wren to the fore architecturally. Two years previously, at the age of thirty-three, Wren, without any experience, was called upon to build Pembroke College Chapel at Cambridge and the Sheldonian theatre at Oxford. He learned his architecture, as the greatest always have, on the ladder and the scaffold and among the carpenters and the masons. After the fire he immediately began to plan the new city of London. The plan which he made was, unfortunately, not put into execution. It is admitted to be one of the best of all city plans. Then, between 1667 and 1710, Wren built, in London alone, sixty churches and the present great cathedral of St. Paul, the dome of which is the most wonderful this side Michelangelo's dome of St. Peter's in Rome. And he built well-nigh numberless dwellings, palaces, and commercial structures.

The steeples of his churches set the model for every church steeple since, particularly those delightful eighteenth-century structures that are so typical of the old villages, towns, and cities of our own eastern seaboard. The dome of St. Paul's gave, indirectly, the model for our capital dome in Washington. And it is by his dome of St. Paul's that Sir Christopher Wren is known the world over, as Michelangelo is known by his dome of St. Peter's. As they stand together, so also do they stand apart from and above all other men. To understand one is to understand the other. It is as if the equal of Shakespeare had arisen to write another Hamlet.

It is pleasant to think of this man who thought out and built St. Paul's living to see it completed; fascinating to think of him, past eighty, pulled up in a basket for the last time, to oversee his own son, at that tremendous height, lay the cap-stone of the whole gigantic undertaking; inspiring to think how he must have looked down upon the towers and steeples of his own designing scattered all over London. But more astonishing than all else is it to reflect that this man—I count from his twenty-first birthday—for seventy years gave the example of combining the life of affairs and the life of scholarly research at their best and fullest, in a word, the example of what a man can be.

## REVIEWS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINE ARTS. PART I: INTRODUCTION, BY GEORGE C. NIMMONS; CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE, BY C. HOWARD WALKER; THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES, BY RALPH ADAMS CRAM; THE RENAISSANCE, BY H. VAN BUREN MAGONIGLE; MODERN ARCHITECTURE, BY PAUL P. CRET. PART II: SCULPTURE, BY LORADO TAFT; PAINTING, BY BRYSON BURROUGHS; LANDSCAPE DESIGN, BY F. L. OLMSTED; CITY PLANNING, BY EDWARD H. BENNETT; THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS, BY HUGER ELLIOTT; MUSIC, BY THOMAS WHITNEY SURETTE; EPILOGUE, BY C. HOWARD WALKER. 8°, XXIX, 483 PP., 128 PLS. BOSTON, MARSHALL JONES, 1923. \$3.50.

It is cause for general congratulation that so eminent a body of men as "the American Institute of Architects, through its Committee on Education, have undertaken to arouse popular interest in the subject [of fine arts], and to make art instruction an integral part of all education." Their initial move is the publication of *The Significance of the Fine Arts*. The prime purpose of this volume is "for use as a textbook in American colleges." The secondary purpose is "for general reading and study by the public." The proverb about killing two birds with one stone comes to mind. The implied assumption that public and college students are one in respect to their needs and that their needs can be met by the same means is most interesting. That part of this assumption which relates to the identity of needs is only too true, but that which relates to identical treatment of student and public is open to question. That the college student possesses a youthful mind and is surrounded by the professoriate, good and poor, puts him into a class quite apart from the public, which, whatever the age of its mind, is wholly free from professorial influence for benefit and harm alike.

The "outstanding features" of the volume are set forth with categorical precision in ten brief paragraphs of the introduction. These features have been lived up to with remarkable consistency in the ten chapters which follow and which form the book. That there are regrettable lapses is true, but they are the exception to the rule.

The first of the ten brief paragraphs setting forth the "outstanding features" is as follows: "Freedom from technical matter not essential for the layman, simple language and the absence of complicated theoretical discussion."

In the opening essay, *Classical Architecture*, pp. 22 f., we read: "The sequence of the progress of the Greek shrine or temple building may have been as follows: (1) A fire floor of stone or brick upon which the sacrificial fire was built and later elevated upon an altar. (2) A wooden shelter above the fire to protect it from the weather and to prevent its being extinguished. An attempt was at once made to make this shelter incombustible by building it within a cell of stone or of brick, which, however, was of too insecure a character to safely carry a roof, and required itself protection from rain. Consequently a row of wooden posts supporting a beam was carried all around the cell at some distance outside of it, and the ceiling beams in turn were extended beyond the wall and rested upon the beam above the posts which supported it."

This is confused, and it does involve complicated, theoretical discussion.

Again, p. 24: "The elements which compose the Greek temple are each subdivided as follows: the basic platform, the column, and the structure above the column called



the entablature. The column in turn is divided into three parts; the base, the shaft, and the capital. The entablature is similarly subdivided into the epistyle, architrave or lintel; the frieze; and the cornice. The Doric frieze is composed of alternate triglyphs, and the spaces between, or metopes. [The *Doric* frieze is mentioned specifically and so described. What of the column just above 'which is divided into three parts; the base,' etc.] The cornice is divided into three parts: the bed mould, the fascia, and the crown moulding or cyma."

This is simple language for anyone familiar with the facts, but its dividings and subdividings cannot fail to puzzle anyone who is not, whether college student or general reader. So too of such statements as "mouldings and interstices of structure were decorated with color." In some cases technical terms are not explained or defined, while in others definition is repeated, as, for example, "the Suburra, the slums of Rome," p. 44, and again, p. 47, "the Suburra, or slums of Rome."

The whole chapter suggests hasty writing. This impression is borne out by the bibliography, which is full of errors: Flinder, *Petrie-Arts and Crafts of Egypt* for Petrie, W. M. Flinders, *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*; Simpson, E. H. for Simpson, F. M.; Schuchardt for Schuchhardt; Anderson, W. S. and Spier, R. P. for Anderson, W. J. and Spiers, R. P.; Leroux, E. for Leroux, G.; Kimball, F. for Kimball, S. F.; together with incomplete titles.

On the other hand, the epilogue, the subject of which is *Significance of Art*, by the same author as the introductory chapter, is a piece of rigorously reasoned and charmingly expressed thought.

A book written by eleven different men, as this book is, every one distinguished, cannot be expected to entirely escape contradiction of one part by another. It may even be thought that such contradiction will beget thinking on the part of the reader. It will on the part of readers not new in the field. It will not on the part of some other readers. For example, in the introduction we read, "The taste of the people is improving as they are demanding productions of a higher type and better quality." On p. 370: "It is strange, but regrettably true, that any sensitiveness to beauty of color and form in objects of daily use is looked upon by many as a sign of weakness, oddity or affectation. . . . The reason is that popular standards in such matters are low: the majority care little about color or form." Again, p. 55: Architecture under the Romans "attained splendor, grandeur of scale, and magnitude of idea." On p. 64: "The Roman was never great in architectural or any other art." Finally, p. 391: The Romans produced "glassware which has but rarely been excelled." On p. 73 we read: John Ruskin "is an excellent guide . . . in the domain of the spiritual content of a great art" (architecture). P. 227: "Ruskin had about as enlightened a view of the veritable basis of this art [architecture] as that of the contractor for whom the architect is one 'who puts a few trimmings on an otherwise perfectly good building.'" Who shall decide when doctors disagree?

It is disappointing to find drawing, *per se* a great art, and father of all the arts, as Leonardo da Vinci called it, missing from among the chapters. This is the universal way. That is why its omission is so disappointing, for the book under discussion is no ordinary book. The same is true of the omission of engraving in all its beautiful forms.

Each chapter demands separate consideration. To make an essay on architecture, mediæval architecture in this case, as entertaining as a novel, as interesting as history, keeping it the while simple and intensely illuminating, is, of course, a stroke of genius. Here we have the highest type of textbook: clear and informatory, as a text should be,



but, in addition, touched with the vitalizing charm which makes for literature. Many examples as good could be cited, but none better for illustrating this than the passage dealing with Decorated and Flamboyant architecture, p. 111. The manner in which this chapter interweaves, yet keeps straight, the threads of history, custom, habit, in different lands, among different peoples, at different epochs is model. Comment and criticism beginning, "I believe" and "I give it as my judgment" are refreshing instances of the modesty of conscious authority. It is hard to imagine anything better for the thinking reader, college student or general public. Nor is this essay without significant humor. Of Gothic architecture: "It grew naturally and without the aid of professional architects, princely patrons, schools of art or professors." Pp. 92 f. contain a peculiarly interesting discussion of the modern habit of seeking "for some scientific basis, or rather mathematical explanation," means for proving "anything by means of an arbitrary cypher, after the fashion of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy," in connection with the so-called irregularities and refinements of what in art is admitted to be marvelously fine.

A similar spirit pervades the capital chapter on the Renaissance. As if in continuation, really in summation, of what has just been said, the following sentence is significant. "In all periods of art, the inspiration spent, behind the joyous creators moving in careless freedom, come the portly purists, the makers of categories, marching with an air of severe importance, armed with books and instruments of precision to show how art should be manufactured and by what rules it must be confined." The success of this chapter lies in the fact—I quote the hope expressed in its own final paragraph—that it does "make clear the essential continuity of the Renaissance in art and in life from the day of Dante to the present moment." One feels that its author might have said with Dr. Johnson, "I knew very well what I had to do; I knew how to do it; and I think I have done it very well."

The chapter on modern architecture, by far the most difficult in the book to write, opens with a charming proem, so to speak, which leads up to the confession that we know well "that taste is a thing 'varium et mutabile.'" The assumption that the next words, "semper femina," will be remembered is nice. The striking fact is that this chapter is an altogether graceful defense—support is a better word—of modern building for the reason that it is wholly lacking in arrogant assumption. Rarely does a man take up the cudgel for present-day art and not have a chip or many chips on his shoulder. The reasoning in the chapter, and there is much close reasoning, lies midway between *laudator temporis acti* and blatant modernism. Necessarily, there is a good deal of bare enumeration of buildings and names, especially at the very end. But this in the light of what precedes is wholly defensible.

The first chapter in Part II, *Sculpture*, fulfills the promise of that paragraph in the introduction which declares one of the "outstanding features" of this book to be "the use of anecdote and story in connection with the great architectural achievements of the world." There being little or no anecdote and story elsewhere in the book, the lack is made up in this chapter. Here we have the extremely colloquial style, the joking familiarity which goes straight to the hearts of undergraduate audiences and to many Chautauqua and extension-course groups. "There are so many modern figures which seem concerned lest you miss them; they gesticulate like 'cabbies.' They weary me, these auctioneers on their soap-boxes!" Of Donatello's Gattamelata: "Its pneumatic-tire effect is strange to modern eyes;" "the bloated warhorse is very imposing;" "is it possible to imagine anything more convincing than that sturdy old boy?" Or we read of Pilon's urn ordered by Catherine de Medici and "intended to contain the heart of her

loving spouse. This was the first time she had been sure of its possession and she evidently wished to make the most of it!"

There is a certain amusing condescension, not on the part of a foreigner this time. "The reader is not expected to be enthusiastic over the charm of worthy old 'Niccolò da Uzzano' [Donatello], but if you should model a few hundred heads you would learn to appreciate the amazing characterization, the sincerity which we have here." This is very plain talk as to the prospects of appreciation generally, and the help to be derived from books and other sources not actual practice. Along similar lines is the comment on Desiderio's Laughing Child: "Here is another little charmer which you will have no trouble in liking!"

"Glorious Gothic" sculpture is left out. The omission, which is acknowledged to be "disgraceful," is excused on the ground that it "is perfect only in place." Are the college student and the general public to know nothing of such a vast subject, the significance of the fine art of mediæval sculpture? Evidently, from this textbook! American sculpture fares no better. In the six lines given to it the names of St. Gaudens and Daniel Chester French appear. It savors of begging the question. The contrast is marked and disappointing as one thinks back to the chapter on modern architecture in this volume.

The section on painting is an able résumé of the subject from the twelfth century down. It enters the twentieth century bravely. It is written from start to finish with a keen appreciation for the need to define terms, especially in a book of this kind. But if anyone should imagine that because it is a résumé it is dry and dull, he would be greatly mistaken. It is anything but that. As a textbook of brief compass it is admirable. Interleaved it would make a most helpful little book for study and notes on a first visit to the great galleries. In passing, it is interesting to note that Ruskin's name does not appear in the bibliography.

*Landscape Design* is an essay filled with explicit advice and direction, always accompanied with the reason why. This is of the textbook. Not so the manner of the writing. That is *con amore*. Everywhere the need for individual thinking is emphasized along with respect for authority. What could be better than this, one of many equally useful and fine passages: "The marvelous thing is that we are so made that each of us, as he grows in the enjoyment of beauty, generally finds that the qualities which most appeal to him are among those which have appealed to others highly developed in the appreciation of beauty, even in times or places far remote and circumstances very different. It is with the learning of this truth that one comes to an appreciation of the true value and use of 'authorities' and 'precedents.' Their use is not to relieve us of standing on our own feet in matters of artistic choice, but to make us modestly critical of the thoroughness of our own understanding and the keenness of our own perceptions where we find them apparently at odds with the judgment of acknowledged experts."

The bibliography for this chapter, longer than most in the volume, is a model of what such a thing should be to be useful. It is even good reading in itself.

*City Planning* is another satisfactory chapter. It is a clear, elementary treatment of this important and insufficiently understood art. The force of the essay is increased by a judicious, as well as generous, use of literary sources, Juvenal, Zola, and Whistler. The admiration for Rome and Paris is contagious, admiration rested on clearly explained cause, without a suspicion of a taint of sentimentality.

The chapter on the industrial arts deserves a review to itself, so compact is it of finely expressed judgments, first rate descriptions of process, and quotations to the point.

After a general view of the subject and a section on the minor fine arts, there follows a detailed summary under specific heads. These are: ceramic art, glass, leaded glass windows, textiles, lace, embroidery, jewelry, metal work, furniture, the book, illustration. Every one is treated vividly. As soon as one has read them through, he is certain to turn back for careful study of one part or another. A single brief quotation, typical of the whole, shows what I mean: "Perhaps the most remarkable imitations of natural forms ever made by the hand of man are the glass flowers in the Museum of Harvard University. They surpass imitations—they appear to be actual flowers and leaves, at least as far as the sense of sight is concerned. These were made, be it clearly understood, as aids to botanical study—not as works of art. And they are not works of art. For a work of art is a creation, not an imitation."

There is nothing better in the book than the last chapter, which is on music. Music is an art that calls for peculiar ability of exposition, and such is here. A clear argument runs through the chapter from beginning to end. It is untechnical in the very best sense, and it is just the sort of introduction which begets elementary understanding of the simple fundamental facts of the subject. Written with complete comprehension of the needs of the reader and the student it is intended to serve, it will stimulate interest in music, intelligent interest.

In a future edition a considerable number of typographical errors can be corrected, and the bibliographies should be made uniform. It is perhaps too much to hope, with the present cost of making a book, for better paper and sharper illustrations. The quality of this book as a whole deserves these betterments.

Alfred Mansfield Brooks